

SUCCESSFUL COMMERCIAL REVITALIZATION IN MULTI-ETHNIC,
LOW-INCOME, INNER CITY COMMUNITIES:
A CASE STUDY OF UPHAMS' CORNER, DORCHESTER, MA
by

Nanette Angele Robicheau

B.A. Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
1980

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning
in Partial Fullfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of
Master of City Planning
at the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

May 1992
© Nanette Angele Robicheau

The author hearby grants to MIT permission to reproduce and to
distribute copies of this thesis document in whole or in part.

Signature of Author _____
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
May 16, 1992

Certified by _____
Edwin Melendez
Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by _____
Ralph Gakenheimer
Chair MCP Committee

Rotch
ARCHIVES
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE
OF TECHNOLOGY

MAY 27 1992

LIBRARIES

**SUCCESSFUL COMMERCIAL REVITALIZATION IN MULTI-ETHNIC,
LOW-INCOME, INNER CITY COMMUNITIES:
A CASE STUDY OF UPHAMS' CORNER, DORCHESTER, MA**

by
Nanette Angele Robicheau

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of City Planning

ABSTRACT

In 1991, the merchants of the Uphams' Corner Board of Trade, the Public Facilities Department of the City of Boston, Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation, and several other neighborhood agencies joined forces to initiate a commercial revitalization plan for Uphams' Corner, an ethnically and racially mixed, low-income, inner city neighborhood. The overarching goal of this revitalization effort is to improve economic, physical, and social conditions in the neighborhood by building upon the strengths of the community while working to alleviate factors that have led to decline and disinvestment in both the commercial district and residential areas.

In order to be successful in this type of setting, commercial revitalization must be placed in a broad context that includes other community and economic development initiatives. In this thesis I show that by combining elements of three different economic development models: the Main Street model for commercial revitalization; the Ethnic Enclave model for business and economic development among ethnic, minority, and immigrant communities; and the Business Development-Community Development Linkage model for development in low-income communities, an alternate model for comprehensive commercial revitalization can be developed that is tailored to the needs of residents and business owners in a multi-ethnic, low-income, inner city community. I call this alternate model, the Uphams' Corner model.

The Uphams' Corner model is a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy that integrates the following elements:

- 1) Organize local actors;
- 2) Improve public safety;
- 3) Develop local businesses and attract new ones;
- 4) Support the development of a multicultural identity;
- 5) Strengthen and support local community based agencies;
- 6) Link business development to community development;
- 7) Promote and market the neighborhood business district; and
- 8) Improve physical conditions.

In this way, commercial revitalization can be seen as a community development goal in and of itself, as well as a tool to advance other community development initiatives.

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Edwin Melendez
Title: Professor of Urban Studies and Planning

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my sister, Cecile Robicheau for her love, support, guidance, and companionship. She has inspired me to grow, to learn, to take risks, to do my best, and to enjoy life, everyday of my life.

My two years at MIT have been enriched by many. I would like to thank my thesis committee: Edwin Melendez and Richard Schramm, both of whom have consistently encouraged me and guided my learning since the first day of classes. My thanks also to Amy Schectman for her wonderfully contagious enthusiasm for planning, DUSP, people, and life in general, and for her constant reminders to believe in myself. Thanks also to Pat Hynes for encouraging me to think both critically and creatively, and to Lyna Wiggins for her incredible patience and skill at teaching me statistics.

I am also grateful to my new friends from DUSP who have taught me so much and given me fun times and fond memories. Thanks especially to Lizbeth Heyer, Irma Perez-Johnson, Virginia Bullock, Claudia Green, Maria Canales, and Julie Chen.

My heartfelt appreciation also goes to my friend Lee Regan, for her unfailing support and sense of humor, not to mention her fine editing skills.

And finally, I would like to thank the people who live and work in the Uphams' Corner community, for the time they have spent with me discussing the history and dynamics of Uphams' Corner, and their hopes for the future.

N.A.R.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	2
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	3
PROLOGUE.....	5
INTRODUCTION.....	8
CHAPTER ONE.....	17
Commercial revitalization in the inner city- Three models for economic development	
CHAPTER TWO.....	49
A Description of Uphams' Corner	
CHAPTER THREE.....	92
The Uphams' Corner Model- A comprehensive strategy for commercial revitalization in multi-ethnic, low-income, inner city communities	
CHAPTER FOUR.....	147
Implications of the Uphams' Corner model	
EPILOGUE.....	155
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	156
APPENDIX.....	160
A List of Interviewees	
B Uphams' Corner Businesses	
C Selected Results of Uphams' Corner Shoppers Survey	
D Opportunities for Retail Stores in Uphams' Corner	

PROLOGUE

In the final weeks of writing this thesis, two shocking events occurred -- the first stunned the Uphams' Corner community and the city of Boston; the second rocked the entire nation.

On April 23, 1992 in Uphams' Corner in Dorchester, a group of as many as eleven local youth bludgeoned and stabbed to death Charleston Sarjeant in the Tasty Chicken Restaurant as he, his wife, and a friend waited for their take out order. His wife screamed in vain and witnessed the senseless murder of her husband, while Sarjeant's friend ran to a pay phone to call for help.

Charleston Sarjeant was a 25 year old native of Barbados who grew up in the Dorchester section of Boston. A happily married father of three, Sarjeant just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. Mr Sarjeant was a hardworking, honest family man who was an innocent victim of indiscriminate and brutal inner city violence.

The apparent motive for the murder was rising animosity between the youths and the Pakistani owners of the Tasty Chicken restaurant. On several occasions the youths had caused disturbances in the restaurant including fights and arguments, and on one occasion one of the murder suspects had brandished a gun inside the restaurant in a fight with another man. The owners had called the police repeatedly for help ejecting the youths from the restaurant. Apparently, the motive for the murder was retaliation for these incidents.

Over the next few days, six local men between the ages of 17 to 24 were arrested in the death of Charleston Sarjeant.

The owners of the Tasty Chicken Restaurant say they will not reopen, and as Serjeant's widow and family grieved, the Uphams' Corner community and the entire city of Boston reacted with anguish and outrage.

Seven days later, on April 30, 1992, the worst rioting the nation has ever seen erupted in South Central Los Angeles and spread to other U.S. cities. Rioting, looting, murder, and destruction broke out after a Simi Valley jury acquitted four police officers in the brutal video-taped beating of Rodney King, a black motorist.

In Los Angeles the fierce fighting, violence, and flames left 44 dead, 2,000 injured and \$1 billion in charred ruins. Local businesses were especially targeted for destruction, and in hard hit areas, only a handful of shops remain standing. Many of those that were destroyed will not reopen.

The underlying causes of savagery, devastation, and despair in these two events are complex, multifaceted and not easily comprehended or rectified. Yet, both incidents underscore the tremendous obstacles and difficulties associated with business development in inner city neighborhoods nationwide, as well as the urgent need for both economic and community development in urban areas.

In Uphams' Corner, drug related street crime has severely impacted local businesses and made residents fearful of entering the shopping district after dark. Thus, commercial revitalization efforts cannot be effective without other efforts to improve the community including increased law enforcement, better educational and job training opportunities for residents, jobs, and recreational activities, employment opportunities and youth development programs for local teens.

In South Central Los Angeles, business development has also been constrained by these same forces, and additionally by rising ethnic tension between Korean shop owners and residents of the predominantly black and Hispanic communities they serve. Thus commercial revitalization efforts cannot be successful without other economic and community development initiatives, in addition to efforts to increase tolerance and understanding between members of various ethnic and racial groups.

In this thesis I argue that in order to be successful in the inner city, business development must be linked to other community development goals in order to improve economic, physical, and social conditions for America's urban residents. In order to improve the quality of life in our cities and restore pride, hope, confidence, and self reliance: in our nation, in our cities, in our communities, in our homes, in our children, in our hearts, and in our future as Americans, we must seek answers and commit ourselves as a nation to creating an environment where all have the opportunity to live positive, productive lives in secure, tolerant, and viable communities.

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I develop a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy for Uphams' Corner, located in Dorchester, MA, an area within the city of Boston. Uphams' Corner is an ethnically and racially diverse, low-income, inner city neighborhood. The commercial sector has been adversely affected by declining population and income levels in the area, crime, changing demographics, and competition with more popular suburban shopping malls. Although there are some successful businesses in the district, as well as several important community institutions with a regional draw, currently the area is underutilized and the commercial space is dotted with rundown buildings, some of which are vacant and boarded up.

In the fall of 1991, Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation, the Public Facilities Department of the City of Boston, and the Uphams' Corner Board of Trade, joined with other community based agencies and resident groups in a collaborative effort to develop and implement a commercial revitalization plan for Uphams' Corner. The over-arching goal of this revitalization effort is to reverse decline and disinvestment by improving economic, physical, and social conditions in the neighborhood business district. The specific goals of this revitalization effort are three fold:

to strengthen current businesses and attract new ones, to improve the physical appearance of the district by rehabilitation of declining properties and refurbishing storefronts and public spaces, and to strengthen the role the neighborhood business district plays in the social life of the community by restoring it as symbol of pride and quality of life in the area.

A review of the literature and interviews with experts in the field reveal that the Main Street model, developed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, is the dominant strategy for commercial revitalization in declining central business districts. Main Street is a comprehensive four point strategy based upon the following elements:

- 1) Organization- A collaborative approach with community and institutional involvement in planning and implementation;
- 2) Promotion- A strategic approach to marketing in order to improve the image of the commercial district and promote goods and services;
- 3) Design- Rehabilitation of existing buildings around a theme of historical preservation and physical improvements, such as improved traffic circulation and increased access to parking; and

- 4) Business Development- Strengthening current businesses and attracting new ones.

The Main Street approach is a comprehensive strategy designed for towns and small cities with populations of less than 50,000, which has been successfully implemented in numerous locations nationwide. However, while all four elements of the Main Street model of commercial revitalization are applicable to Uphams' Corner, they must be tailored to the needs of Uphams' Corner in order to address two key concerns: ethnic diversity and low income levels in the community.

In this thesis, I show how the Main Street model can be enhanced by adding elements of two other economic development models that deal with the concerns of an ethnically diverse, economically disadvantaged, inner city neighborhood commercial district such as Uphams' Corner. I create an alternative model that integrates elements of all three models. The first of these development models, the Ethnic Enclave, addresses issues of enterprise formation among racial and ethnic minorities and suggests strategies to support and strengthen ethnic enterprise development. The second model, the Business Development-Community Development linkage model, addresses issues of development in low-income communities and suggests strategies to link business development with community

development in order to expand employment, improve consumer services, create markets for local businesses, foster role models and community leaders, and strengthen community identity.

Thus, in this thesis I show how a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy for inner city neighborhood business districts can be developed by combining appropriate elements of all three models. This alternative strategy proposes that commercial revitalization must be seen in a broader context which includes other community development and economic development objectives such as: improving public safety, developing a multicultural community identity, developing political power, stabilizing residential areas, creating jobs, and improving educational and job training opportunities.

I also formulate a set of recommendations for a comprehensive revitalization strategy in Uphams' Corner that is based upon the unique needs, and strengths, of the community and includes the following elements: 1) Organize local actors; 2) Improve public safety; 3) Develop local businesses and attract new ones; 4) Support the development of a multicultural identity; 5) Strengthen and support local community based agencies; 6) Link business development to

community development; 7) Promote and market the neighborhood business district; and 8) Improve physical conditions.

The methodology used for this thesis is the case study method. The case study method is used to conduct social science research that investigates contemporary phenomenon within a real life context and when the investigator has little control over events (Yin 1984).

Thus the findings reported in this thesis are based upon four different types of data collection:

- 1) Interviews with local merchants and residents, the staffs of agencies working in the area, and professionals in the fields of community economic development, ethnic enterprise development, and commercial revitalization;
- 2) Surveys that were administered to shoppers and merchants in the Uphams' Corner business district;
- 3) Analysis of previous research in the fields of community economic development, commercial revitalization, and ethnic entrepreneurship, and three previous studies of market conditions in Uphams' Corner; and
- 4) Participant observation conducted as an intern with the Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation.

The Uphams' Corner model was developed based upon previous literature in the field of economic and community development, previous studies of Uphams' Corner, and most importantly, on fieldwork I conducted in Uphams' Corner in order to find out from the people who live and work there, what development goals they think are most important for the community. Thus, I have developed a set of specific recommendations for the business district in Uphams' Corner, as well as a model for comprehensive commercial revitalization that can be used in other multi-ethnic, low-income, inner city communities that is based upon the needs and goals of the community, as expressed by the people who live and work there. I call this new model the Uphams' Corner model.

I believe that this research and the Uphams' Corner model, can serve to assist current efforts in Uphams' Corner, and offer lessons for revitalization efforts in other inner city neighborhood commercial districts. The elements of the Uphams' Corner model are listed at the end of this introduction.

I begin Chapter One with an introduction of the goals of commercial revitalization in neighborhood business districts and a description of the three models of economic development I use to develop a comprehensive commercial revitalization

strategy. In Chapter Two I turn to a description of my case study, Uphams' Corner, and in Chapter Three I develop a model for a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy for Uphams' Corner. In Chapter Four I conclude with implications of the Uphams' Corner model and recommendations based upon these findings.

**THE UPHAMS' CORNER MODEL FOR COMMERCIAL REVITALIZATION AND
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN MULTI-ETHNIC, LOW INCOME COMMUNITIES**

1) ORGANIZE COMMUNITY ACTORS

- * Promote a collaborative approach with the participation of city government, local community based organizations, residents, merchants, property owners, financial intermediaries and local law enforcement officials

2) IMPROVE PUBLIC SAFETY

- * Increase police patrols and community involvement in crime prevention

3) DEVELOP LOCAL BUSINESSES

- * Strengthen current businesses and attract new ones
- * Recapture local income that is spent elsewhere
- * Support the development of ethnically diverse businesses that reflect the diversity of residents
- * Offer technical support to local merchants such as marketing, finance, accounting, purchasing, etc.
- * Support local businesses with a strategy that is responsive to the needs of the variety of businesses and entrepreneurs in the business district
- * Increase employment opportunities for residents

4) DEVELOP A MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITY IDENTITY

- * Support the development of a community identity that reflects the ethnic and racial diversity of residents and merchants
- * Support multi-cultural community coalitions
- * Increase opportunities for local residents to meet and interact within the neighborhood business district
- * Encourage communication and tolerance, and strengthen community pride with a strategy that is sensitive to the customs, preferences and practices of the various ethnic groups in the area
- * Support ethnically based community institutions that help to develop ethnic pride, ease social dislocation, and facilitate increased understanding and communication between groups

5) STRENGTHEN AND SUPPORT LOCAL COMMUNITY BASED AGENCIES

- * Support community based agencies that act to empower and develop the community and advocate for its interests in the larger institutional context

6) LINK BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

- * Increase community identification, pride, and viability by developing local businesses that help to create local leadership, employment networks, and role models
- * Stabilize residential areas and develop community by restoring the neighborhood business district as a symbol of pride and quality of life in Uphams' Corner
- * Support other efforts to improve the community with the creation of affordable housing, better schools, employment opportunities, employment and training programs, and increased access to health care and recreational activities

7) PROMOTE AND MARKET THE NEIGHBORHOOD BUSINESS DISTRICT

- * Improve the image of the NBD by employing a marketing strategy that promotes goods and services, events and activities, and the district itself, around a multicultural theme that supports and promotes ethnic and racial diversity in the community

8) IMPROVE PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

- * Improve physical conditions in the district through rehabilitation of buildings and storefronts with appropriate design standards
- * Improve other physical conditions such as sanitation, traffic and pedestrian circulation, parking, and use of public areas including parks, parking lots, and sidewalks

CHAPTER ONE

COMMERCIAL REVITALIZATION IN THE INNER CITY

Three models for economic and community development

Decline, disinvestment, and neglect have reduced many once vital, inner city business districts to a haphazard collection of marginal businesses scattered amongst vacant, boarded up storefronts. Typically these neighborhood business districts are characterized by limited availability of goods and services, high crime rates, and few shoppers.

Increasingly, policy makers and community development agencies have recognized that neighborhood business districts are fundamental to the overall economic development and revitalization of inner city areas. There is greater awareness that neighborhood business districts are inextricably linked to the city's residential neighborhoods. The fate of the neighborhood commercial area is tightly bound to the fate of the surrounding residential area. Deterioration of the business district is often a forerunner of deterioration of the residential areas; conversely, a stable commercial area supports its residential neighborhoods. A vital, attractive, commercial area creates a positive image for the entire neighborhood and stimulates investment in the

local economy.

The need to revitalize neighborhood business districts is a problem that many cities share. Since the end of World War II, increasing suburbanization drastically altered the shape of inner city business districts. Federally built highways and federally supported low interest mortgages for homecoming GI's caused a steady stream of outward migration from America's cities to their outlying suburbs. The advent of suburban shopping centers and shopping malls began as major retailers moved their operations from inner city locations to the suburbs. Thus, the shift in population from cities to the suburbs reduced both consumer spending and investment in city neighborhood commercial districts, and consequently also reduced the tax base of many American cities. During the 1960s and 1970s, this loss of economic vitality was further exacerbated by "white flight" from city communities, resulting in a higher concentration of racial and ethnic minorities with lower overall income levels, and lower levels of consumer spending and investment.

As a result of suburbanization, major retailers have all but abandoned inner city locations and this has negatively impacted commercial activity in neighborhood business districts. The loss is two-fold in that residents are left

without access to a variety of competitively priced goods and services, and the business district is often left without an anchor tenant or enough other businesses to attract large numbers of shoppers to the area.

The decline in the number of supermarkets has been especially severe and has adversely affected cities nationwide leaving low-income, inner city residents without access to nutritious, competitively priced food. In Boston, 34 of 50 big-chain markets have closed since 1970. Los Angeles County, which had 1,068 markets in 1970, counted 694 in 1990 (Newsweek 1992).

In addition to the loss of businesses and shoppers, local merchants struggle against a variety of external and internal business constraints, such as limited consumer spending, shoplifting and street crime, the lack of wholesale purchasing power that would enable them to compete with large retailers, the lack of management, marketing, and accounting expertise, and undercapitalization. In spite of these obstacles, some inner city entrepreneurs manage to run efficient businesses while bringing much needed goods and services to community residents that would otherwise be unavailable in their neighborhoods.

The local business district plays an important role in the local economy. A successful neighborhood business district increases access to goods and services for shoppers and residents, provides business opportunities for local entrepreneurs, becomes an important source of jobs and employment networks for local residents, encourages investment, and contributes substantially to the tax base through both retail sales and property taxes.

The goal of any comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy is to reverse the decline and disinvestment of inner city areas by improving the economic, physical, and social conditions in the neighborhood business district. Thus a successful revitalization effort must be measured against economic, physical and social improvement objectives (CUED 1983). Among the economic gains are increased access to goods and services, job creation and retention, private investment, new business starts, and an expanding tax base. Physical improvements include rehabilitation and adaptive uses of existing buildings, refurbishment of facades, and better utilization of outdoor areas (National Trust for Historic Preservation 1990). Among the social goals are a renewed sense of pride, improvement in the quality of life in the area, and a brighter hope for the future.

A comprehensive revitalization strategy should include efforts to improve physical conditions in the district with attention to buildings, sidewalks, parking areas, and other public spaces. The physical appearance of a commercial district largely determines the image by which it is perceived by residents, merchants, investors, and the general public. Shabby storefronts, lack of maintenance, and neglect of public improvements reinforce the notion of an area in decline where necessary goods and services cannot be obtained. On the other hand, a well maintained, visually interesting district will attract customers, merchants, and business people, as well as potential investors (National Trust for Historic Preservation 1990).

Additionally, the goals of commercial revitalization go beyond economic and physical improvements, to include improving the image of a community by improving the image of its neighborhood business district. While a declining business district is a symbol of neglect and lack of hope, a vibrant neighborhood shopping district is a symbol of community pride and initiative, and quality of life in the inner city.

A successful neighborhood business district plays an

important role in the social life of a community. Residents and visitors meet and interact within the commercial district among its shops, public buildings, restaurants, institutions, and parks. Moreover, by increasing opportunities for neighborhood residents to meet and socialize within the neighborhood business district, a successful revitalization strategy can strengthen community identity.

I begin the next section with a description of the Main Street model and explain its shortcomings as an effective strategy to meet the specific needs of the Uphams' Corner community. Following that, I describe two other models of economic development that can be used to enhance the appropriateness of the Main Street model: the Ethnic Enclave and the Business Development-Community Development Linkage model. The Ethnic Enclave addresses issues of development in a community composed primarily of racial and/or ethnic minorities, while the Business Development-Community Development Linkage model addresses issues of development in economically disadvantaged, inner city communities. Finally, I briefly explain how elements of all three models can be combined to develop an appropriate commercial revitalization strategy for Uphams' Corner, an idea that is further developed in Chapter Three.

THE MAIN STREET MODEL- Is it appropriate for Uphams' Corner?

The Main Street model is a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy that contains elements to address economic, physical, and social conditions in the district. The Main Street model is widely acknowledged to be a successful revitalization strategy in small cities where overall economic conditions are healthy, yet an outdated, declining, central business district is in need of improvement and modernization (CUED 1983). Nevertheless, while the Main Street model is a very successful revitalization strategy in the economically stable, white, middle class communities for which it was designed, it is limited in its ability to meet the needs of merchants, residents, and investors in an economically disadvantaged, multi-ethnic, inner city neighborhood such as Uphams' Corner.

The Main Street model, developed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1977, is a comprehensive revitalization strategy that encourages economic development within the context of historic preservation. The Main Street approach incorporates many strategies used in commercial revitalization in the last 40 years. The Main Street model was developed in order to revitalize older, downtown shopping

areas in towns and small cities through the rehabilitation of existing buildings, in order to preserve their unique architectural features and maintain the historical character of the town center. The goal of Main Street is to increase economic activity in the downtown area by making it more attractive to shoppers, merchants, and investors. Main Street is a proven approach for cities with a population of less than 50,000 (National Trust for Historic Preservation 1990).

The Main Street model is a strategy that includes four key elements: organization, promotion, design, and business development. These elements must be carefully integrated into a practical management strategy with both public and private participation, in order to create a marketable identity for the district and produce fundamental changes in the district's economic base, thus assuring long-term success. The following descriptions of these four elements of the Main Street strategy are from Bringing Back Urban Vitality (National Trust for Historic Preservation 1990).

1) Organization

Establishing a consensus and cooperation by building partnerships that will allow the development of a consistent revitalization program and permit the emergence of effective management and advocacy of the

district. Diverse groups -- bankers, city officials, merchants, chamber members, civic leaders, individual citizens and others -- must work together to improve the business district.

2) Promotion

Creating a positive image of the business district to attract customers and investors and rekindle community pride. Promotion includes the development of sophisticated joint retail sales events and festivals, and the creation of a consistent image through graphic and media presentations. Promotion also includes target selling of the district to investors, developers, and new businesses.

3) Design

Enhancing the visual quality of the business district. This includes attention to all physical elements: buildings, storefronts, signs, public improvements, landscaping, merchandising displays, and promotional materials. The quality of the designed environment more than any other aspect demonstrates to the public the character of the district.

4) Business Development

Strengthening the existing economic assets of the business district while diversifying its economic base. Activities include retaining and expanding existing businesses, recruiting new businesses to provide a balanced mix, converting disused space into productive property, and sharpening the competitiveness of Main Street's traditional merchants.

In general, the Main Street model is a comprehensive strategy for commercial revitalization, yet it fails to address two key concerns in a community such as Uphams' Corner: ethnic diversity among residents and merchants, and low income levels which necessitate community and economic development in the area.

For example, the Main Street model calls for the attraction of an appropriate anchor tenant(s) to the central business district, such as a large grocery or department store. However, efforts to attract a major retailer or franchise operator to Uphams' Corner have been unsuccessful. Because of high crime rates in the district, limited consumer spending, traffic congestion and lack of parking, Uphams' Corner is perceived as an undesirable location by large retailers. Thus, while there is a need for an "anchor" tenant

in the district, the prescribed supermarket or department store is not a viable option under current conditions (Hemp, The Boston Globe 1991).

Similarly, the Main Street model is based on the assumption that revitalization will take place in a demographically homogeneous community. It focuses on the need to develop an appropriate mix of goods and services to meet the preferences of local consumers; yet this strategy is inadequate for Uphams' Corner because it fails to acknowledge the difficulty associated with determining an appropriate retail/service mix in an ethnically diverse community with distinct consumer preferences.

Furthermore, the Main Street model suggests promoting the commercial district and the goods, services, and activities it offers around a common theme that highlights the historical roots of the district. This strategy is appropriate in a predominantly white community where the majority identify with the historical roots of the neighborhood business district. It is inappropriate, however, in a racially and ethnically diverse community where residents have many distinct cultural heritages.

The Main Street model emphasizes design guidelines and

physical improvements to enhance the aesthetic appeal of a commercial district, increased access to convenient parking to attract shoppers, and a marketing strategy to enhance the image of the area. All of these elements are important to a successful revitalization effort in Uphams' Corner; yet, they fall short of the need to address many of the underlying problems associated with the decline of commercial activity in the area. For example, design standards for storefront renovation will improve the visual appeal of commercial property; but they do not go far enough to address the problems of arson and high commercial vacancy rates in the area. Convenient parking is a concern in Uphams' Corner; yet the problem is not one of availability, but rather of safety in the parking areas.

Finally, the Main Street model suggests a marketing strategy in order to improve the image of the commercial district; however, in Uphams' Corner, the urgent need to eliminate drug traffic and street crime must be addressed concurrent with efforts to enhance the community image. Additionally, image promotion needs to address the multi-ethnic character of the area.

Thus, while the four basic elements of the Main Street model -- organization, promotion, design, and business

development -- are applicable to Uphams' Corner; nevertheless they do not go far enough to address the underlying causes of economic decline and disinvestment in the commercial area and in the community in general. In order to be effective in this context, the elements of the Main Street model must be tailored to meet the needs of a low-income, multi-ethnic community and combined with other economic and community development initiatives.

Thus, to develop a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy for Uphams' Corner, elements of the Main Street model can be integrated with elements of two other development strategies, that of the Ethnic Enclave and the Business Development-Community Development Linkage model. Elements of the Ethnic Enclave reveal important clues to understanding the development of ethnically-based businesses and how ethnic solidarity can help create economic, political, and community development for members of racial and ethnic minorities, in spite of other barriers to integration into mainstream society and established institutions. The Ethnic Enclave also shows how ethnic business owners can help members of their ethnic group adjust to life in the United States and how they can play important leadership roles in their communities.

The Ethnic Enclave, however, similar to the Main Street model, is based on an assumption that development will take place among a homogeneous population, in this instance, a population composed of an ethnic or minority group. Thus, it must also be adapted with other elements of research in the field of ethnic enterprise development to be relevant in Uphams' Corner.

Research in the field of ethnic enterprise development describes and compares business development among members of various ethnic and racial groups and explores how they interact with each other, and with Anglo or mainstream merchants. This literature helps to explain the high incidence of ethnic entrepreneurship in Uphams' Corner and gives clues as to how best to help ethnic businesses maintain stability, increase profitability, and support other community development objectives. These elements help to frame a commercial revitalization strategy for Uphams' Corner that takes into account cultural, racial, and linguistic differences among an ethnically diverse group of merchants in an ethnically diverse neighborhood.

The Business Development-Community Development Linkage model addresses issues of economic and community development in low-income neighborhoods. Elements of this model help to

formulate a comprehensive strategy that places commercial revitalization in the broader context of poverty alleviation and the need to develop the community, as well as the commercial district. I now turn to a discussion of the Ethnic Enclave and the ethnic basis for enterprise development.

THE ETHNIC ENCLAVE AND THE ETHNIC BASIS FOR ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT

Business development in communities composed of racial and ethnic minorities

The Ethnic Enclave refers to a commercial district which is developed by and for a predominant ethnic group and shaped by consumer preferences and business practices of that group (Waldinger, et al 1990). The Ethnic Enclave is not primarily a model for commercial revitalization, but rather it describes how revitalization can occur as a result of an influx of population and capital in an area by a specific ethnic group. The concept of an Ethnic Enclave is useful in developing a strategy for Uphams' Corner because it deals specifically with the ethnic basis for enterprise formation and documents the ways in which commercial districts developed by distinct ethnic groups differ from those of the dominant Anglo population, and from those developed by other ethnic groups. Thus it addresses an important shortcoming of the

Main Street model in the context of Uphams' Corner -- the need to take into account cultural, racial, and ethnic differences among community residents and merchants in order to develop an appropriate commercial revitalization strategy.

The concept of the Ethnic Enclave is important to the development of an appropriate commercial revitalization strategy for Uphams' Corner because it focuses on economic, social, and political development in immigrant and minority communities. It reveals important lessons about the ways in which ethnic solidarity, combined with professional expertise and financial resources can improve the quality of life and access to opportunities for immigrants and ethnic minorities. Literature on this topic explores the ethnic basis for enterprise formation and the role that commercial development plays in the life of the community, and also explores issues of community identity, both for members of that community, and the way in which that community is perceived by outsiders.

Two of the best documented examples of thriving ethnic enclaves are the Cuban community in Miami area, and the Korean community in Los Angeles. The Cubans have established "Little Havana" where residents and merchants have successfully maintained their cultural and linguistic heritage while adapting to the economic and social realities of the United

States. The Korean community has also established a strong ethnic enclave with Koreatown in Los Angeles. Both of these highly concentrated ethnic populations have achieved a high degree of political and economic power owing to cohesiveness and recirculation of capital among group members within the enclave (Light and Bonacich 1988, Wilson and Portes 1985).

In both cases, the enclave is characterized by a highly integrated economic, political, and social system where social ties, political connections, employment networks, business transactions, investments, and consumer spending are maintained within the ethnic community. The circulation of capital within the enclave helps to improve economic opportunities for those who live and reside within the enclave and, ultimately, the entire ethnic group gains from increased access to economic, political, and social power. Commercial districts within the enclave are shaped by the cultural practices of each group. Local merchants cater primarily to ethnic preferences, offering goods and services that may not be available elsewhere.

The enclave also serves to attract tourists and other outsiders. Shoppers, tourists and others who visit the enclave help support the local economy and also gain exposure to the culture and customs of those who live there (Waldinger,

et al 1990).

The ethnic enclave can play a major role in assisting immigrant groups' adjustment to social and economic life in the U.S. It eases social dislocation and helps maintain community cohesion among co-ethnics through the development and maintenance of community institutions, and by promoting ethnic pride and cultural identity, strengthening family ties, and facilitating the development of political and economic power among ethnic groups (Light 1985, Light and Bonacich 1988, Wilson and Portes 1985).

The enclave also significantly increases economic opportunities for ethnic group members. Typically, immigrants face many barriers to entrance and advancement in the U.S. labor market including: lack of language skills, lack of appropriate job training and skills, lack of connections to employment networks that facilitate job placement, and discrimination. Many immigrants overcome these barriers by finding employment with their co-ethnics, while others become self-employed, opening businesses in the enclave.

Ethnic entrepreneurs perform many important roles in the enclave community. They provide goods and services, help newcomers adjust by providing information and connections to

social and employment networks, create employment opportunities, and play leadership roles. Frequently ethnic entrepreneurs also play the role of "cultural ambassador" to the society at large. Members of the mainstream society, as well as other ethnic groups gain exposure, awareness, and understanding of the ethnic culture by patronizing these businesses and restaurants. Thus, ethnic entrepreneurs help preserve cohesion within the community and also help create and maintain economic and social linkages between the enclave and mainstream society.

The Cuban and Korean enclaves are often cited as important models of immigrant adaptation; however, these two cases are unique for several reasons and therefore their success cannot be easily imitated by other ethnic groups or in an ethnically diverse community such as Uphams' Corner.

The majority of Cubans and Koreans that began arriving in the United States in large numbers beginning in the 1950s and 1960s were well educated and had professional experience, business skills, and capital. The Cubans additionally benefitted from federally funded relocation assistance. The historical circumstances that stimulated the flow of immigration of these two groups are somewhat similar. In both cases, immigrants left their homelands due to political

upheaval and economic dislocation. Neither group was "pulled" to the U.S. by a desire for greater opportunity, but rather was "pushed" from their country of origin owing to rising dissatisfaction with political and economic events. High levels of education and professional experience, financial resources, and the fact that these groups settled in a geographically concentrated area during a short period of time all increased their potential for economic and political success (Light 1985, Light and Bonacich 1988, Wilson and Portes 1985). With few exceptions, other immigrant groups have not had these same resources and consequently have not attained the level of prosperity attained by Cubans and Koreans in these enclaves.

While the Ethnic Enclave contains many elements that are important for economic and community development in an immigrant or ethnic community, it must also be revised in order to be appropriate for Uphams' Corner. The Ethnic Enclave model is based on the assumption that development will take place in a community where one ethnic or racial group predominates. Uphams' Corner is an ethnically diverse community where no one ethnic group has a strong enough community base or the resources to develop the community along the lines of the traditional Ethnic Enclave. Furthermore, the merchants in Uphams' Corner represent even greater diversity

than neighborhood residents. For example, among the local ethnic merchants are member(s) of all the following groups -- Pakistani, Chinese, Korean, Arab, Eastern European, Hispanic, Cape Verdean, and Greek, while the residents are white, Afro American, Hispanic, Cape Verdean, Caribbean black, and Southeast Asian.

Thus, it becomes clear that Uphams' Corner does not fit the traditional Ethnic Enclave; yet there are important elements of this model that are relevant to commercial revitalization efforts in Uphams' Corner. The Ethnic Enclave shows how ethnic solidarity combined with business development in a highly integrated economic, social, and political system can help improve the quality of life and access to opportunities for immigrants and ethnic minorities.

In addition to research on Ethnic Enclaves, literature in the field of ethnic enterprise formation helps to inform a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy for Uphams' Corner. Analysis of the ethnic basis for enterprise development helps to explain the high rates of ethnic entrepreneurship in the Uphams' Corner commercial district. For example, literature in this field explains why many ethnic and immigrant groups have higher rates of enterprise development than Anglos in the United States, and also details

how ethnic entrepreneurs perform many important social and economic roles in the communities where they are located.

The high rates of ethnic entrepreneurship in Uphams' Corner can be explained by a combination of four different factors described in the literature on ethnic enterprise formation. First, many immigrant and ethnic groups have high rates of entrepreneurship and self employment in response to barriers to labor force participation. Second, because many ethnic group members cater to the consumer preferences of their own ethnic group, they locate their shops in neighborhoods where the concentration of co-ethnics is high. Third, ethnic entrepreneurs frequently locate in inner city neighborhoods that have been abandoned by traditional retailers. These locations are underserved by mainstream merchants and thus offer business opportunities for ethnic merchants including low rents and little competition. And last, there is a high concentration of ethnic merchants in the retail sector because retail businesses are relatively easy to start and manage with limited financial resources and business experience (Waldinger et al 1990).

Thus, research on Ethnic Enclaves and the ethnic basis for enterprise development helps to inform a business development and community development strategy in a multi-

ethnic community. Both strategies offer explanations for the high rates of ethnic entrepreneurship in Uphams' Corner and also explain the economic, political, and social roles ethnic entrepreneurs can play in a community. These models offer important lessons for strengthening ethnically owned businesses in an inner city community and for enhancing the role the commercial district plays in the broader context of community development.

The multi-ethnic, multi-racial character of the residents and merchants in Uphams' Corner presents a distinct challenge to a successful commercial revitalization effort. Linguistic, cultural, and racial differences are reflected in both consumer patterns and in the ways in which local merchants operate their businesses. Thus, the challenge becomes one of developing a strategy that is responsive to the needs of small business entrepreneurs of varying ethnic groups as well as developing a neighborhood commercial center that is responsive to the needs and preferences of a diverse group of neighborhood residents. Addressing these concerns in a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy will be discussed in Chapter Three. I turn now to a discussion of the Business Development-Community Development Linkage model which deals specifically with economic development in low-income communities.

THE BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT-COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT LINKAGE MODEL

Economic Development in Low Income Communities

The Business Development-Community Development Linkage model described by Bendick and Egan (1991) addresses the concerns of business development in economically disadvantaged, inner city neighborhoods. Similar to the Ethnic Enclave, this model focuses on social, as well as economic and physical development goals and reveals ways in which commercial revitalization efforts can augment efforts to attain community and economic development goals.

This model highlights the importance of linking business development in inner city neighborhoods with other economic and community development goals, and asserts that a comprehensive community development strategy that couples elements of business development with community development can produce greater results than pursuing either strategy in isolation. Community development is defined as efforts to improve the overall social and economic quality of life through: renovating housing, refurbishing streets and public buildings, upgrading public services, promoting community identity and pride, providing job training and other social services for community residents, and increasing political power. Business development refers to efforts to assist the

founding, survival, growth, and profitability of individual enterprises through such means as managerial training and counseling, subsidized finance, procurement set asides, and tax incentives. (Bendick and Egan 1991).

The Business Development-Community Development model addresses business development in economically disadvantaged communities and thus contributes to the development of a comprehensive strategy for Uphams' Corner by placing commercial revitalization in the broader context of poverty alleviation. Thus, it addresses another weakness of the Main Street model. The Main Street model is based on an assumption that commercial revitalization will take place in an area where the overall state of the economy is healthy. and that income levels in the area are adequate to support businesses in the local shopping district (Wiewel and Mier 1981).

The Main Street model is based on an assumption that economic activity in the local business district has declined owing to a combination of factors such as: increased popularity of suburban shopping malls, changing traffic patterns, lack of convenient parking in older, downtown, linear shopping centers, and the concentration of capital that has resulted in the rise of a limited number of giant regional and national retailers, and the decline of smaller, locally

owned and operated stores (Levine 1991). While the commercial sector in Uphams' Corner has also been adversely affected by these same forces, the area has been further impacted by an overall decline in income level in the community. Thus, a critical piece of an effective commercial revitalization strategy must also include efforts to increase overall income in the community in order to increase economic activity in the local business district.

Bendick and Egan argue that by linking business development to community development an interactive process is begun whereby elements of either development strategy enhance the effectiveness of the other. Therefore, according to this model, business development can contribute to community development in five ways by: expanding employment, improving consumer services, creating business markets, rehabilitating real estate, and fostering role models and community leaders. Community development can create opportunities for business development by reducing firms' operating costs and expanding markets for outputs. In the following section I explain each of these elements in detail.

Business development can contribute to community development in the following ways:

1) Expanding employment

Residents in low income neighborhoods typically suffer from high unemployment, underemployment, and labor force withdrawal. There is a critical need for more, and better jobs for community residents. Developing local businesses can create job opportunities for local residents in several different ways. For instance, jobs that are located in the community will be more physically accessible to residents than those that are located outside the community. Additionally, minority owned firms often hire minorities at higher rates than do other firms, thereby reducing the extent of discriminatory barriers to labor force participation for local residents (Bendick and Egan 1991).

However, it is important to note that about 80 percent of minority owned firms nationally have no employees other than their proprietors (Bendick and Egan 1991). Additionally, it is important to remember that there is no substitute for human capital development; employers will hire workers who are most qualified and are not likely to favor an applicant who is a resident over an outsider with higher job qualifications. Thus there is a critical need for job training programs in addition to job creation.

2) Improving consumer services

The decline in the number of businesses operating in the inner city has left many residents without access to competitively priced, quality goods and services close to home. Increasing the quality and number of stores can improve the quality of life and reduce the cost of living for inner city residents.

In addition, because residents patronize businesses outside the community, a significant amount of spending "leaks" out of the local economy. Reestablishing local businesses can help recirculate spending within the local economy.

Locally-owned stores, however, will not be able to compete with major retailers and department stores on the basis of price or selection. Residents will continue to shop outside of the district for big ticket items, thus local stores should concentrate on convenience shopping and more personalized service for those who live and work in the area. It is also important to remember that many of the "Mom and Pop" type stores, typical of Uphams' Corner and other low income communities, operate at or close to the break even point; however, they can be improved and strengthened with technical and financial assistance.

3) Creating business markets

Business development in the inner city can help to create markets for other firms within the local area to the extent that local firms purchase goods or services from one another. Again, this helps to keep spending recirculating within the local economy. The concept of highly integrated spending is a notion borrowed in part from the Ethnic Enclave, whereby members of some ethnic groups develop a strong local economy by buying and selling among ethnic group members.

4) Rehabilitation of real estate

Redevelopment of commercial buildings is both a means and an end to community development. Rehabilitation of real estate reduces physical blight and creates jobs and business opportunities.

5) Fostering role models and community leaders

Business owners are figures of prestige and often hold leadership positions within the community. Frequently they also serve as role models and mentors for local youth offering vocational information, personal advice, encouragement, and emotional support. For members of minority communities, the fact that a member of their own group has achieved success as a local business person is a powerful reminder that members of their group can also "make it".

Community development can create opportunities for business development by:

1) Reducing firms' operating costs

Community development in the form of improved public services and reduction in the level of crime can make it less expensive to operate a business in the inner city. Typically it is community development corporations that help increase the level of public goods in the inner city through political advocacy and pressuring the city government to improve sanitation services, law enforcement, and maintenance of the local infrastructure, such as sidewalks and parking areas.

Community development efforts may also assist local businesses by facilitating joint cooperation among merchants in the form of joint advertising, group insurance rates, and "buy local" campaigns.

2) Expanding market for outputs

Community development can create business opportunities by enhancing the demand for goods and services that local firms are selling. By improving conditions in the area, more shoppers will be attracted to local businesses. Similarly through job creation, local incomes will rise which will further encourage spending in local businesses. The increase

in local spending can have a significant impact on economic development in the community.

In sum, the Business Development-Community Development Linkage model addresses issues of development in economically disadvantaged communities and emphasizes the need to increase overall economic activity in the community in order to make a business development strategy effective. It also emphasizes other important aspects of community development including job creation and employment training, youth development, and developing community leadership. All of these elements are important to the development of a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy for Uphams' Corner.

In conclusion, in this chapter I have shown that the Main Street model for commercial revitalization is not appropriate for an inner city neighborhood business district like Uphams' Corner because it fails to address two key concerns: ethnic and racial diversity among merchants and community residents, and low income levels and deteriorating conditions in the district including crime, disinvestment, unemployment and limited availability of goods and services. However, by combining elements of the Main Street model with elements of the Ethnic Enclave and the Business Development-Community Development Linkage model, a comprehensive commercial

revitalization strategy can be developed for a multi-ethnic, low-income community.

In order to be effective in an inner city neighborhood business district like Uphams' Corner, commercial revitalization must be seen in a broader context that includes other economic and community development initiatives. Thus in addition to the four point Main Street strategy of: organizing local actors, promoting the business district, improving physical conditions, and developing local businesses, a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy must also include efforts to: improve public safety, support and strengthen local community based agencies, link business development to community development, and support the development of a multicultural community identity. In the next chapter I describe the Uphams' Corner community in detail and in Chapter Three I turn to a discussion of the Uphams' Corner model and specific recommendations for commercial revitalization in Uphams' Corner.

CHAPTER TWO

A DESCRIPTION OF UPHAMS' CORNER: A MULTI-ETHNIC, LOW INCOME COMMUNITY IN DORCHESTER, MA

To the casual observer, a stroll through the Uphams' Corner commercial district presents a series of starkly contrasting images. On one block, the scene is one of a bustling market area filled with shoppers, colorful storefronts, and friendly conversation in a variety of different languages, while on the next, one is struck by the desolation and neglect reflected in a burnt out building, surrounded by broken glass and garbage. For example, the corner of Dudley Street and Columbia Road is graced by the newly renovated Pierce Building, an elegant turn of the century brick edifice, which now houses a busy shoe store with attractively displayed merchandise and a well maintained storefront; however, a building of similar construction adjoining the Pierce is nearly vacant and its aesthetic appeal is marred by plywood covered windows, graffiti, and litter.

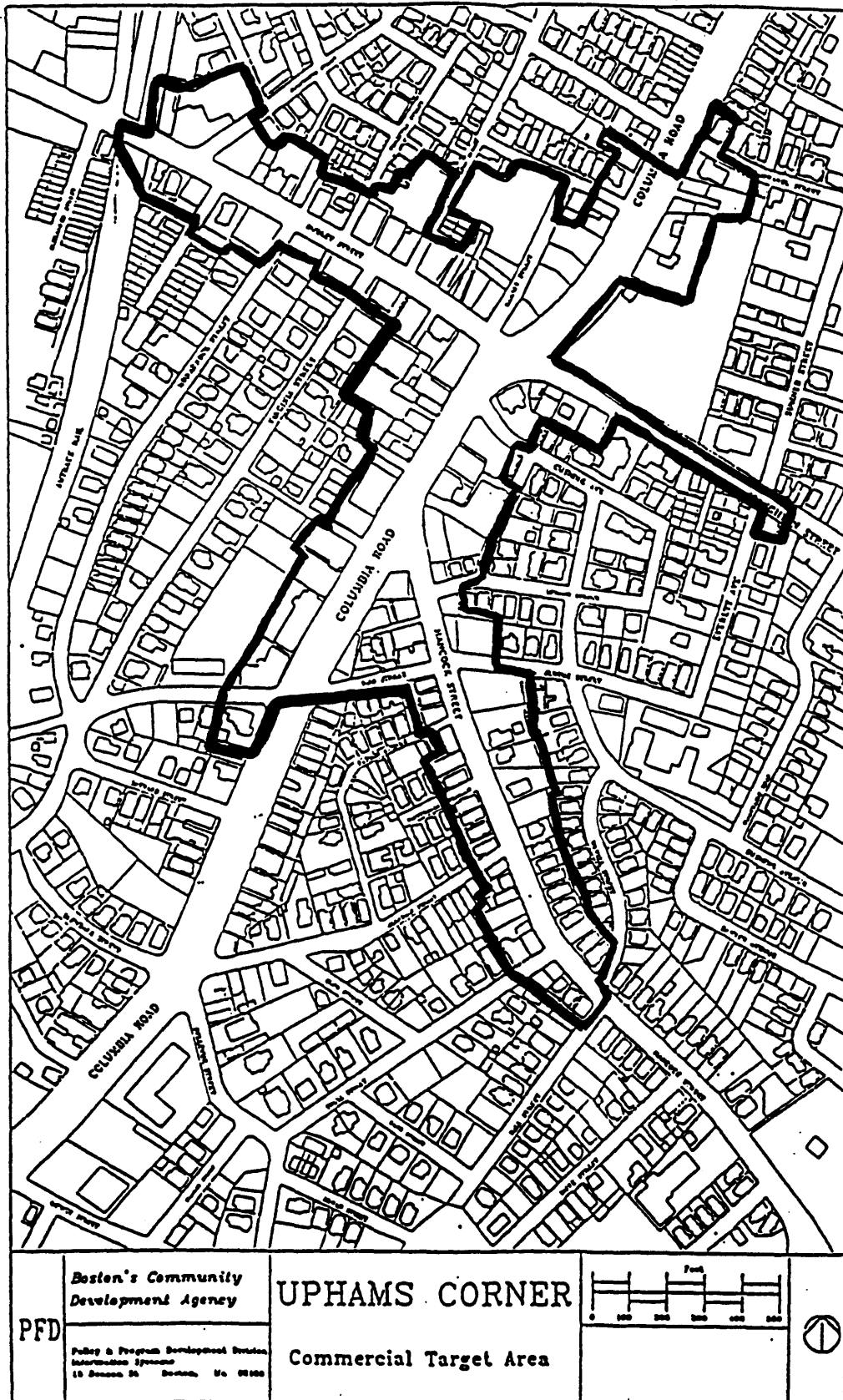
On the next block, buildings owned by Hispanic merchants are painted bright tropical colors and attract shoppers with lively "sidewalk sales" and the blaring rhythms of salsa and

merengue; yet across the street, in the area's only supermarket, a lone shopper scans a pile of overripe produce in a futile search for fresh fruit and vegetables amidst dark and poorly stocked shelves. In front of the Strand Theater, a line of fresh faced, excited teens wait to buy tickets for a Rap Show featuring talented local youngsters. Just a few blocks away however, this exuberant image of neighborhood youth is replaced by an intimidating group of young males standing at the corner of Dudley and Monadnock doing a brisk business in the drug trade.

In this chapter I discuss both the assets and liabilities of the Uphams' Corner commercial district. Among its greatest assets are the number of long-term successful businesses, the strength and leadership of the local community based agencies, locational features, and several local institutions that draw large numbers of people to the district. An additional advantage is the opportunity to recapture local income which is currently spent outside the community as described in a 1991 market study by Levine Associates, Brighton, Massachusetts. (See Exhibit A next page)

Among the challenges to commercial revitalization and community development in the area are the high level of crime in the area, deteriorating physical conditions, low income levels and high unemployment, and fragmentation and lack of

EXHIBIT A



cohesiveness in the community. An approach to addressing these strengths and weaknesses in a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy will be presented in Chapter Three.

Currently there are only 91 commercial establishments in Uphams' Corner and some of those that remain are in danger of failing (Green and Hulett 1991). Yet, in the early half of the century, the situation was dramatically different. Uphams' Corner was a thriving commercial district and was considered to be one of Boston's most desirable neighborhoods. In the 1920s and 1930s, it was one of the city's most important transportation hubs and a bustling commercial center boasting over 300 commercial establishments (Telesis 1981). The population was exclusively white and largely middle class.

A review of previous studies on market conditions in Uphams' Corner (Green and Hulett 1991, Levine 1991, Mt. Auburn Associates 1992, Telesis 1981) and interviews with those who are familiar with the area reveal five major reasons for the decline:

- 1) Traffic patterns and public transportation routes in the city have changed and Uphams' Corner is no longer an important transportation hub. This has reduced the flow of potential shoppers to the area.

2) The population level has declined gradually while the income level in the area has declined sharply. These changes have further reduced the demand for retail goods and services.

3) There is a high incidence of crime in the district, much of which results from drug trafficking. This further serves to discourage commercial activity in the area.

4) The demographic composition of the population has also changed dramatically. The population of the area is one of the most diverse in the city. While some whites remain, the current population is composed primarily of racial and ethnic minorities including Afro Americans, Hispanics, Cape Verdeans, Caribbean Blacks, Southeast Asians, and other groups. No one ethnic group predominates, although 32 percent are black and 25 percent are Hispanic. The ethnic diversity of local residents and business owners makes it hard for local merchants to develop a strong customer base.

5) And lastly, the commercial district in Uphams' Corner, similar to other inner city, neighborhood shopping districts, faces competition with modern, suburban shopping malls that offer consumers an enormous variety of goods and services and easy parking, as well as safety and convenience.

In spite of these obstacles and the long decline in

commercial activity, the Uphams' Corner business district does include some very strong assets including several long-term, successful businesses, four effective community based organizations, and a handful of neighborhood institutions with a regional draw such as the Strand Theater. Up to now, ethnic diversity has been viewed as a liability to community and economic development, but it can also be seen as an asset in an effort to develop the business district around an ethnic theme.

In early 1992, Mt. Auburn Associates, Somerville, Massachusetts, completed a market study for the Neighborhood Enterprise Division of the Public Facilities Department of the City of Boston entitled "Revitalization Strategy for Uphams' Corner Commercial District." Data for this study was based in part upon: interviews with 29 local businesses, a survey of 108 shoppers in the district, two focus groups with local businesses, and community input through meetings and interviews with local residential and business organizations (Mt. Auburn 1992). As a student intern with Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation I participated in data collection, research, and analysis for the purposes of this study. Much of the information that follows is drawn from this study and research that was conducted for it.

In the following section I give a brief history of

Uphams' Corner, explain the reasons for decline since the 1950s, describe current conditions, and briefly explain the need for a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy that builds upon the assets of the community while also taking steps to address the underlying causes of neglect and disinvestment in Uphams' Corner.

A STATISTICAL PROFILE OF UPHAMS' CORNER

In the 1870s Dorchester was annexed to Boston and Uphams' Corner became a transportation center where five streetcar lines converged. The area grew rapidly and became a religious, cultural, financial, and commercial center. In the 1920s, Uphams' Corner was Dorchester's primary marketplace, a regional shopping district serving a diverse community of around 250,000 people (Telesis 1981).

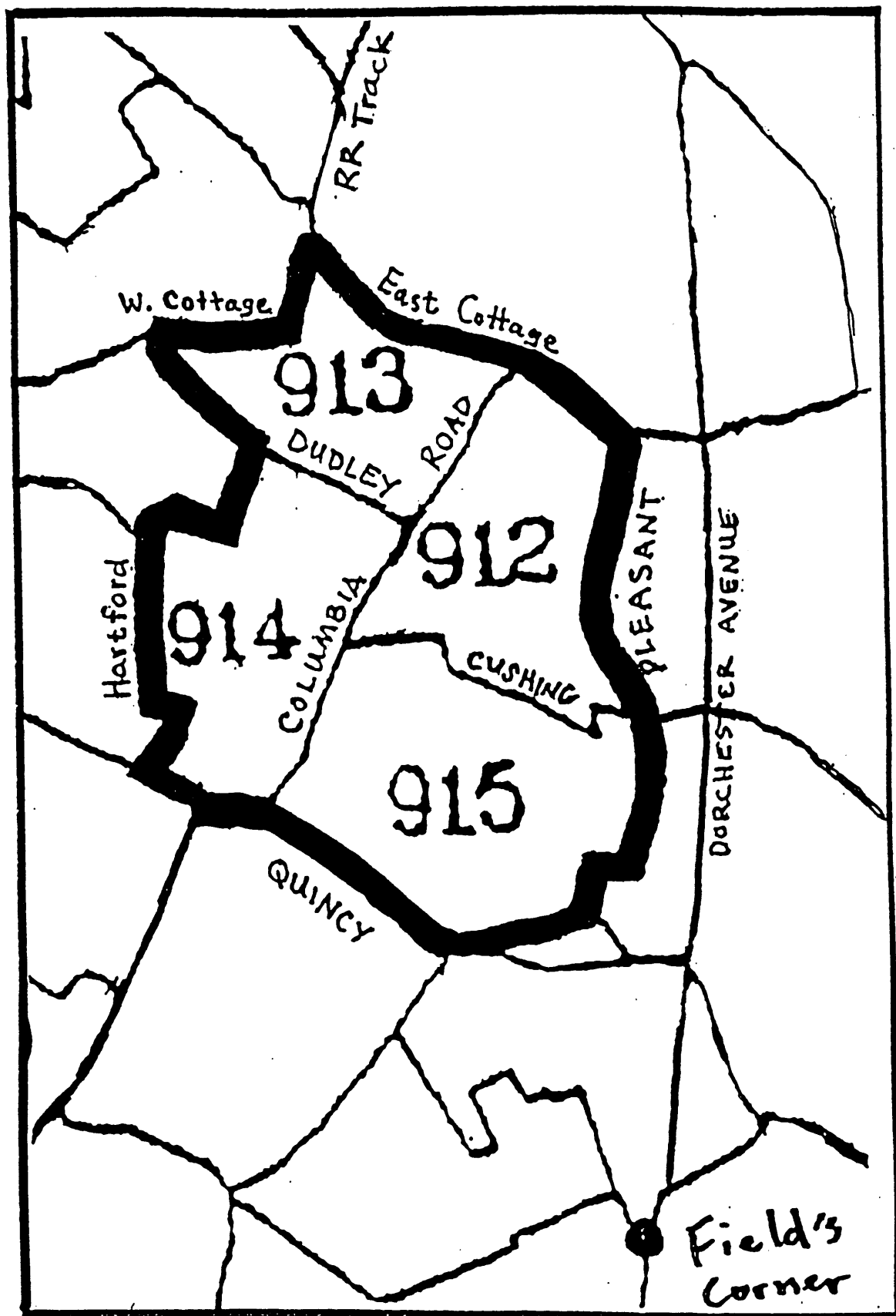
However, a gradual contraction of the commercial district began in the 1930s and 1940s as new parts of the metropolitan Boston area were developed and as industry and middle-class residents began their exodus to the suburbs. Then, after 1950, a rapid contraction of the commercial district began with a steady decline in the number of businesses. It was during this period that Uphams' Corner began to experience other social and economic changes.

Between 1950 and 1970, the total population, the white population, the employed labor force, and the median income for residents declined. For example, the population of Uphams' Corner declined 18 percent while the employed labor force declined 26 percent (Telesis 1981). Between 1970 and 1990 the population further declined by 23 percent (Mt. Auburn 1992).

During the 1950s to 1970s the neighborhood changed from an all white, to a racially mixed community. In 1960 whites comprised 91 percent of the population. The current composition of the area is 32 percent black (non-Hispanic), 26 percent white (non-Hispanic), 25 percent Hispanic, 14 percent other (believed to be primarily Cape Verdeans), and 3 percent Asian. (The "other" figure underestimates the Cape Verdean population, as many classify themselves as black.) The white population further decreased by over 2,000 (a 38 percent drop) between 1980 and 1990 (Mt. Auburn 1992).

According to the 1990 Census, 12,588 people live in the primary trade area. (See Exhibit B next page) If the secondary trade area is included, the population of the community is approximately 31,000 (Mt. Auburn 1992). The primary trade area is defined as the area in which residents do the bulk of their convenience shopping (for example, food, health and beauty aids) and the secondary trade area, the area

EXHIBIT B
PRIMARY TRADE AREA (CENSUS TRACTS)



in which consumers do their comparison shopping (for example, electrical appliances, furniture).

In 1950, the median income for Uphams' Corner was 14 percent higher than the all city median; however by 1970 it was 22 percent lower than in Boston as a whole. The decline continued and by 1990, Uphams' Corner had become a very low income community. Average household income in Uphams' Corner is estimated to be \$23,000 and per capita income to be \$7,200. Thus, per capita income in Uphams' Corner is 46 percent of statewide per capita income, estimated to be \$15,500 (Mt. Auburn 1992).

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES OF THE UPHAMS' CORNER BUSINESS DISTRICT

COMMERCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN UPHAMS' CORNER

Currently, there are 91 commercial establishments operating in the neighborhood businesses district. They represent a mix of establishments including some retail chain stores, several smaller locally owned enterprises, four nonprofit community based organizations including the Strand Theater, and several other institutions which have a regional draw and help to maintain the stability of the commercial district including: three banks, the Bank of Boston, the

Boston Five, and Shawmut Bank, a post office, six churches, a food stamp center and the regional customer office of Boston Edison (Mt. Auburn 1992).

At present, there is no supermarket or department store in Uphams' Corner. The lack of major retail stores severely limits resident access to a competitive selection of consumer goods, and also fails to provide the shopping district with a traditional anchor tenant that would draw large numbers of shoppers to the area. The retail sector is characterized by small, owner managed enterprises that offer a severely limited selection of goods and services.

Currently the neighborhood business district includes: 13 clothes/shoe stores, nine restaurants, six convenience stores, four hairdressers, four furniture stores, three cleaners, three banks, two fish markets, two glass companies, and one each of a video shop, pool hall, bowling alley, used car company, Boston Edison, lawyer, justice of the peace/notary, chiropractor, optometrist, pharmacy, auto school, dance school, H&R Block, heating oil, real estate office, record shop, hardware store, newspaper, TV station, office cleaning service, and commercial cleaning supply store (Mt. Auburn 1992).

Seventy of the 91 commercial establishments in the

neighborhood business district are retail businesses. Of these, approximately 54 are locally owned. Approximately 36 (or 54 percent) of the locally owned businesses are owned and managed by members of various ethnic and racial groups including Cape Verdean, Hispanic, Pakistani, Chinese, Greek, Korean, Eastern European, and Arab. Fourteen stores have Spanish as a first language and two have Cape Verdean Creole as a first language.

LOCALLY OWNED BUSINESSES AND ETHNIC ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN UPHAMS' CORNER

There are several small businesses that are very successful in Uphams' Corner. For example, Righter's True Value Hardware Store, Celeste Boutique, Casa Noel, Hermanos Unidos, Carleton Cleaners, and L and M Bargain Center have operated profitably in Uphams' Corner for between 10 and 22 years. Interviews with merchants and residents reveal that these stores are popular for the goods and services they offer, as well as the opportunities they create for residents to meet and socialize with store owners, employees, and other residents.

Ownership of locally owned stores reflects the ethnic diversity in Uphams' Corner. Most of the smaller stores in the area can be characterized as "Mom and Pop" type businesses

which include retail shops as well as food service. These businesses are typically owner managed with few other employees. In general, there is a high degree of stability among many businesses in the district with respect to age, ownership, and profitability. Forty percent of businesses surveyed in the Mt. Auburn study have been in the district for over 10 years. A few stores and restaurants are patronized primarily by members of a specific ethnic group, but most serve an ethnically diverse customer base.

Based on my field research, I have identified three different types of entrepreneurship in Uphams' Corner. These types of businesses have emerged in response to market opportunities in the district and the ethnic diversity of the customer base. The first type is an ethnic entrepreneur who primarily serves members of his/her ethnic group. The second is an ethnic "middleman", an ethnic entrepreneur who primarily serves members of another ethnic group, or serves all groups (Waldinger 1990). A third type is a native born American, who adapts his/her business to meet the preferences of local ethnic groups, as well as mainstream consumers.

This typology is important to understand the dynamics of the district and its possibilities for revitalization. Given the difficulty of attracting chain stores or franchises to the district, it seems appropriate to develop a commercial

revitalization strategy that will build on the strengths of the smaller locally owned enterprises and increase the possibility of attracting other local entrepreneurs to the district. If the district could be stabilized in this manner, the possibility of attracting chains or franchises in the future will be enhanced.

In the first type of entrepreneurship, an ethnic merchant caters primarily to his/her own ethnic group. The ethnically based businesses offer goods and services that appeal to ethnic preferences and that may be unavailable elsewhere in the city. These ethnic merchants speak the same language as their clientele and offer them a high degree of personalized service and sociability which encourages customer loyalty. Examples of this type of business are those that are owned and operated by local Hispanics, and cater to a Hispanic clientele such as: Casa Noel, specializing in Latin music, Hermanos Unidos, a Puerto Rican style "bodega" (grocery store), and Celeste Boutique, a clothing store that specializes in fashions that appeal to Hispanic tastes.

A second type of ethnic entrepreneurship in Uphams' Corner is that of the ethnic "middle-man," an ethnic entrepreneur that caters either to mainstream consumers or to an ethnic group that is not his/her own. For example Kim's Market, is owned by a Korean merchant, but serves both

mainstream and other ethnic clientele. On the other hand, Jerusalem Trading Company is a furniture store that caters to Hispanic and Cape Verdean customers; yet its owner is a Spanish speaker of Arab descent.

A third type of entrepreneurship is that of a native born American who has adopted a marketing strategy to appeal to the variety of ethnic preferences in the district. For example, L and M Bargain Stores, a children's clothing store, owned by a local Anglo family for 17 years employs a multilingual staff. One member of the family noted, "The ethnic mix in Uphams' Corner has remained fairly constant, with three parts of black, white, and Hispanic. It's an ethnic culture and people don't want to go to the malls. We have three employees that speak Cape Verdean Creole, three that speak Spanish, and three that speak English. I want people to feel comfortable in my store."

Other shops in the district also employ bilingual staff in order to attract a larger customer base. These stores are able to compete with mainstream stores on the basis of their ability to offer their customers better service because they speak the same language as their clientele, and because they offer products that appeal to the preferences of ethnic consumers in addition to those that appeal to the mainstream.

Slightly more than half of locally owned businesses are owned and managed by ethnic entrepreneurs. The high rates of ethnic entrepreneurship in Uphams' Corner can be explained by a combination of factors. In the first place, many ethnic groups have high rates of entrepreneurship and self employment in response to labor market conditions in the United States. For example, immigrants and members of minority ethnic groups may face discrimination in the labor market, or may lack the professional skills, education, or language capability to compete with natives in the job market. Thus, entrepreneurship affords them an opportunity to earn an adequate livelihood while avoiding these barriers to entering the work force.

Secondly, the exodus of traditional retailers from Uphams' Corner resulted in high retail vacancy rates and consequently lower rents. This made the area attractive to ethnic entrepreneurs who were able to establish a business with a minimum of start up capital. Also, because the area is underserved by larger, traditional retailers, the business environment is less competitive for the smaller, locally-owned store. The lack of competition with more established retailers affords the small entrepreneur an opportunity to succeed, in spite of other obstacles such as a lack of business expertise, undercapitalization, limited customer base and an inability to compete with the wholesale buying power of

larger retailers. On the other hand, owing to this same lack of competition, the quality of goods and services, and prices offered by some retailers in Uphams' Corner is poor.

A third reason for the high rate of ethnic enterprise development in the district is the fact that many ethnic entrepreneurs are motivated by a desire to serve their co-ethnics. Uphams' Corner is an obvious choice for a merchant who prefers to cater to a Hispanic, Cape Verdean or other ethnic clientele. For these merchants, the opportunity to play a leadership role in the community, offer advice, information, and assistance to their co-ethnics, and to earn a place as a respected and successful business person is also an important motivating factor. As one local merchant said,

When they need any ideas or they have any questions, they call Casa Noel. Alfredo around? Alfredo around? In many cases I go to their house. I don't care if it is a Spanish person. If he or she needs help I try to help them. Most of them need counseling. What to do, how to do it. Sometimes they need a few hundred dollars and if you have it to lend them, you do. Sometimes they pay you, sometimes they don't. I get involved in stuff like that because like I said when I came here I had nobody and I know what struggling is. Because I have struggled through life up to date and I still do it (Levitt 1991).

Thus, three factors explain the high rates of ethnic entrepreneurship in Uphams' Corner: barriers to labor force participation, market opportunities, and the desire to serve ones own ethnic group. I turn now to a description of the

functions that ethnic entrepreneurs serve in this setting including: creating jobs, providing leadership and acting as role models, and attracting outside resources to the area.

Some of the ethnic merchants in Uphams Corner run very small businesses, employing only themselves and one or two family members. Others, however, do hire one or a few employees, typically members of their own ethnic group. While this is not a large source of employment, it nevertheless is an important source of jobs for members of racial and ethnic minority groups who may have difficulty finding employment elsewhere owing to a lack of language skills or professional preparation. Employment in a small enterprise such as those found in Uphams' Corner can be an important job ladder for members of ethnic groups. Many of those who become entrepreneurs typically gained the experience and training by working in a business owned by a co-ethnic or family member (Levitt 1991).

The ethnic merchants in Uphams' Corner also play an important role in the social life of the community. Ethnically based shops and restaurants provide important meeting places for co-ethnics and provide opportunities for members of different ethnic groups to meet and interact within the commercial district. Ethnic merchants serve as "cultural ambassadors" to members of other ethnic groups giving them

exposure to their culture, and also helping to ease the adjustment to life in the United States for co-ethnics. Frequently ethnic entrepreneurs serve as informal information sources with advice on how to find a job, an apartment, a doctor, and how to cope with everyday struggles that are part of adjusting to a new culture.

Additionally ethnic entrepreneurs frequently play important leadership roles in the community. Many are active in ethnic associations, community institutions, and local trade and political organizations. As business persons, they maintain a network of employment and service contacts with actors and institutions outside the community. Because of these broader contacts, they are able to successfully advocate for the interests of the community in the larger environment and attract outside resources to the area.

To summarize, there are at least four important functions that ethnic entrepreneurs perform in Uphams' Corner. First, they are willing to do business in a low-income, multi ethnic community, one that has largely been abandoned by major retailers. Second, they provide goods and services to the community that would otherwise be unavailable. Third, they provide employment for co-ethnics, who may be closed out of the labor market. Merchants in Uphams' Corner who do have employees, hire from their own ethnic group. And lastly,

merchants play a leadership role in the community. Many serve as role models and are active in ethnic organizations and community institutions. They help co-ethnics adjust to life in the United States and help to acquaint members of other ethnic groups to their culture and way of life. Additionally, they help attract resources to the area because of their contacts outside the community.

The high number of ethnic merchants in Uphams' Corner suggests that one strategy for revitalizing the area would be to strengthen the current ethnically owned businesses through technical and financial assistance and also try to attract more ethnic merchants. Thus, one option is to develop the area as a center for Hispanic commerce, or develop the area around a multi-ethnic theme. These ideas will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three. Now I turn to other assets of the Uphams' Corner business district.

NONPROFIT COMMUNITY BASED AGENCIES IN UPHAMS' CORNER

There are several community based non-profit agencies that have successfully operated in the community for many years: the Uphams' Corner Health Center, the Strand Theater, Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation, and the Bird Street Youth Center. These community based agencies serve to stabilize the neighborhood in several important ways. They

provide for many health and social service needs of the community, are a large source of employment for community residents, attract large numbers of people to the area, help to advocate for the interests of the community in the larger institutional context, link the area with important government services, and strengthen the development of community identity and political empowerment. The combined activities of these community based organizations encompasses the economic, physical, and social development goals of the community.

The Uphams' Corner Health Center has been in the community for over 20 years during which time it has grown continuously. Currently, the Health Center has 19,000 registered patients and 84,000 patient visits annually. Ed Grimes, director of the Health Center, estimates that out of a total population of 31,000 in Uphams' Corner, two thirds of all residents are registered as patients of the Health Center. The Center occupies four buildings in Uphams' Corner and is the largest employer in the neighborhood, employing nearly 200 people, 65 percent of whom are neighborhood residents. The staff of the Center reflects the diverse ethnic backgrounds of community residents and together they speak a total of seven different languages: English, Spanish, Cape Verdean Creole, Haitian Creole, Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Laotian in order to serve all community residents.

The Uphams' Corner Health Center provides "cradle to grave" health care including prenatal care and family health care for infants, children, adults, and the elderly. The Center provides wellness care, preventative care, and illness care including social services, mental health services, and a community outreach program. Currently the Health Center serves 340 homebound elderly and AIDS patients, and 3,000 pregnant women and children. The infant mortality rate for Health Center patients is lower than that of any other minority community in Boston.

The Health Center provides a one class care system: patients are served regardless of their ability to pay and the Center operates with a sliding fee scale for all services.

The Strand Theater, also known as the McCormack Center for the Arts, also employs community residents. The Strand presents a wide range of performances that appeal to the various ethnic groups that live in the district, as well as theater patrons throughout the metropolitan area. The Strand also offers strong community based, multi-ethnic programming including performances by entertainers representative of the various ethnic groups in Uphams Corner ranging from an African dance troupe, Haitian gospel singers, Latin American jazz performers, and local teen rap groups to the Boston Opera Company and the Boston Ballet.

Because of the emphasis on community based programming, and contact with community residents through local social service agencies and community institutions, the local audience at the Strand has grown enormously in the last three years. The Strand also sponsors a youth internship program that serves 100 teens per year. Teen interns learn how to produce, direct, choreograph, compose, and act in their own productions, and also learn other employment related skills such as: answering the phone, selling tickets and refreshments, word processing on a Macintosh computer, painting, and promoting theatrical productions.

The Strand also rents theater space to local religious and civic groups. In 1990, the Strand offered a total of 109 public performances and attracts a larger number of people to Uphams' Corner than any of the other institutions.

During its 12 years of operation in Uphams' Corner, the Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation has successfully rehabilitated 192 units of affordable housing. Currently DBEDC has undertaken a more comprehensive approach to community development to address three areas of need in Uphams' Corner- physical development, economic development, and social development. Current housing projects of DBEDC include: construction of 12 new units of housing for moderate-income owner occupancy, construction of 40 new units of

limited-equity cooperative housing for low- and moderate-income families, renovation of 147 low-income rental units, and purchase of foreclosed residential properties for renovation and resale to low and moderate income owner occupants.

Dorchester Bay is a key player in the current revitalization effort. Current community development projects include planning reuse of commercial buildings for office/retail or residential/retail mixed use occupancy. Social development projects include building neighborhood coalitions to enhance crime prevention and plan new social service programs, and planning neighborhood youth recreational facilities.

The Bird Street Youth Center has also operated in Uphams' Corner for many years and offers recreational facilities and activities as well as social services to youth and their families. The Youth Center offers programs for parents and young people to help to them learn about and cope with contemporary family concerns such as drugs, sex, and violence. There is also a youth development program with peer leadership that helps local teens learn responsibility. Additionally, the Center sponsors a street worker program as part of an effort to reach those teens who do not use the Center.

The Youth Center is currently initiating a summer job placement program to train 15 local youth for summer employment with Uphams' Corner merchants. In addition to providing valuable job training and experience for local youth, this program will also help merchants to strengthen their ties to the community at large.

To summarize, the community based organizations play a vital role in helping the community attain economic, physical, and social development goals. By providing health and social services to the community, employment opportunities for local residents, youth development programs, affordable housing creation, and other community development and economic development initiatives, these organizations help to improve the quality of life for local residents and play a strong leadership role within the community. These organizations also have the capacity and the commitment to advocate for the interests of the community in the larger institutional context.

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BUSINESS DISTRICT

Other organizations, such as the Uphams' Corner Board of Trade, and local resident associations also play an important leadership role in the community and make significant contributions towards the betterment of Uphams' Corner. For

example, the Uphams' Corner Neighborhood Housing Service (UCNHS), an affiliate of the Boston Neighborhood Housing Services with a neighborhood based board of directors, has been in Uphams' Corner for six years and assists homeowners and residents with home maintenance, improvements, and financing. The Virginia-Monadnock Neighborhood Association enjoys broad-based support and has a racially diverse membership and leadership which has successfully completed several improvements in residential areas including a community garden and a children's play area. The role of the Uphams' Corner Board of Trade will be detailed in Chapter Three.

Other important characteristics of the business district are its location and accessibility, and the fact that buildings in general are in good condition.

The location of Uphams' Corner is considered to be both an asset and a liability. The district is at the intersection of two major streets, Columbia Road and Dudley Street, public transportation is readily accessible with three major bus lines and an MBTA commuter stop, and the Southeast Expressway is nearby. The heavy volume of traffic generated by its central location and its proximity to downtown Boston is generally seen as an asset to the neighborhood business district; yet it also creates some problems. On one hand,

heavy traffic volume increases the number of people who might frequent local shops; on the other hand, too much traffic can discourage people from using the district. The shoppers survey revealed that 49 percent of those using the district arrived by car, 31 percent arrived by walking, and 20 percent arrived by bus. In the shoppers survey, the commercial district received its highest ratings for accessibility; nearly 50 percent rated accessibility as good or excellent (Mt. Auburn).

The Mt. Auburn shoppers survey also revealed that Uphams' Corner is not strictly a neighborhood shopping district, but has a regional draw, attracting users from a larger geographical area. Forty five percent of those surveyed lived in Uphams' Corner, while 39 percent reside in neighboring communities, 8 percent came from other parts of Boston, and 8 percent from outside of Boston (Mt. Auburn 1992).

In general, the condition of buildings in Uphams' Corner is good, although many are in need of storefront renovation and improved maintenance. There are several structurally sound, architecturally pleasing buildings in the district that serve to enhance both the aesthetic appeal of the area and its possibilities for revitalization. Many of the largest buildings were built at the height of Uphams' Corners' popularity in the 1920s and 1930s. Some buildings are only in

need of cosmetic changes, while others will require major renovation according to appropriate design standards, in order to return them to more productive uses for the commercial district and the community at large.

A major challenge facing the commercial revitalization effort is the high vacancy rate, 35 percent, in the commercial district. However 85 percent of vacant commercial space is located in three key anchor properties; 600-618 Columbia Road and the Buckley Building are nearly vacant, and a third building, the Columbia Square building is underutilized. Aside from these three anchor buildings, the vacancy rate in the remainder of the district is only 9 percent (Mt. Auburn 1992). Suggestions to reduce high vacancy rates in the area will be discussed in Chapter Three.

To summarize, in spite of the long decline in Uphams' Corner, there are many factors that have served to maintain vitality in the business district. These include: the longevity of locally owned businesses, the influx of ethnic entrepreneurs, the local community based organizations and community institutions that serve to stabilize the district and attract large numbers of people to the area, and other attributes such as, location and accessibility and the historical buildings in the district. In spite of these strengths, however, there are several obstacles to commercial

revitalization in Uphams' Corner and it is to these problems that I now turn.

CRIME IN UPHAMS' CORNER

Currently, crime poses a major obstacle to revitalizing commercial activity in the business district and also contributes to perceptions of Uphams' Corner as a hostile place in the minds of both residents and outsiders.

In the 1992 Mt. Auburn survey, fear of crime was most often mentioned by shoppers as a barrier to shopping more frequently in the district. In the shoppers survey, 41 percent of shoppers reported safety in the district as poor, and 26 percent as fair. When asked about the types of improvements they would like to see in the district, safety improvements were mentioned by 26 percent of respondents, more than any other category (Mt. Auburn 1992).

Similarly, nearly three quarters of business survey respondents reported that crime was having "some" or "major" impact on their businesses. In interviews with merchants, 44 percent reported that crime had a major impact on their business, and 32 percent that crime had some impact. Most said that the problem was in the streets, not in the stores and that street crime and loitering discouraged shoppers from

patronizing their shops (Mt. Auburn 1992).

There were 673 crimes reported from 9/1/90 to 8/31/91 in Uphams' Corner, up 15 percent from 10 years earlier and three percent from five years earlier. This is an average of two arrests per day. The increase is due primarily to drug activity, aggravated assault, armed robbery, and auto theft -- shoplifting and breaking and entering are down 27 percent (Mt. Auburn 1992).

In my meetings with resident groups, some residents reported that fear of crime caused them to avoid shopping in the district altogether. The following quotes are comments local people made about the level of crime in the area:

- o "I've lived here for fifty years and it didn't used to be this way. We should support the community and the police but I wouldn't shop there; it's not safe. I am absolutely afraid, even in the daytime."
- o "I do go there, but I don't feel safe."
- o "I felt bad because the new Christie's (convenience store) was robbed soon after it opened. I'm afraid to go down there."
- o "It is relatively safe. Sometimes there are gangs, drugs, but the perception of crime is higher than the actual crime."
- o "I used to go there all my life. When I was in high school I went there with my friends; when I was older, I went there to drink. But now I only drive there with the doors locked."

Merchants and residents indicate that the fear of crime is particularly linked to groups of teenagers, young adults, and drug traffic. Shoppers and passersby are intimidated by

groups of young people on portions of Dudley and Hancock Streets. The hours of drug activity and crime are generally from 2:00pm on into the evening. Residents and merchants report that they generally feel safe during the morning hours and at lunchtime.

People are also afraid of having their cars stolen while shopping in the district. Three individuals I spoke with had their cars stolen while at work in Uphams' Corner. In interviews, merchants made the following comments about crime in the district:

- o From a hispanic merchant, "There is a boy here on each corner selling drugs. These boys make a living selling drugs and that's all they care about. The bad ones come from outside. They come here like it was a job. They show up and leave like clockwork. A reporter from the Globe took pictures of boys selling drugs. If the newspapers can do that, why can't the police? People are afraid, even the police are afraid. The problem is they get out of jail so fast. The boys complain about their rights being violated. Here there is too much liberty. We need an army of police; otherwise the boys just come back."
- o "I call the police all the time. They just interrogate me like I was the criminal."
- o "A woman got her arm broken after they snatched her purse."
- o "Last night there was a big fight, all Americans, Black versus white. They left their cars in the middle of the street. They were young people in the twenties, women too."
- o "Someone broke into Fontes Boutique and stole everything. He doesn't have any insurance. He got another store in New Bedford."
- o "We need police at night. They broke into our beauty shop three times."
- o "The police are afraid to act. I saw a boy holding a

policeman on the ground and he was hitting him. There was a policewoman, but she was afraid to get out of the cruiser. Then the police came with sirens and the boys ran away."

o "Above my office, they are selling drugs. Their son is the messenger. Can you imagine?"

A 1990 Boston Globe article documented the flagrant drug trade in Uphams' Corner when a reporter observed and photographed a stream of drug sales in plain view along Dudley Street. Fifteen transactions were recorded within a 45 minute period on a Friday afternoon. While drug activity has been reduced somewhat, it still has a major adverse affect on the business district and the community at large.

The parking lot behind the corner of Columbia Road and Dudley Street, was built by the city at a cost of \$1 million to help local merchants attract customers; yet, today it is empty due to fear of crime. Drug dealers stabbed the lot attendant in the spring of 1989 and took over the space for dealing. Currently, the Board of Trade is raising funds to hire another attendant. This one will be an armed municipal police officer.

Efforts to reduce the amount of crime in Uphams' Corner as well as change perceptions of the area as a hostile place will be vital to the success of commercial revitalization efforts. In order to successfully reduce drug related and other criminal activities in the area and revitalize the

business district, efforts to strengthen law enforcement and improve public safety must be linked with other community development and economic development initiatives including: improved educational opportunities, youth counseling and recreational activities, job creation and employment placement and training, the development of local leadership and political power, and the development of a multicultural community identity that will enhance the image of the area for both residents and outsiders. Thus, in order to be successful, commercial revitalization must be linked to other community development initiatives.

I turn now to a discussion of the Uphams' Corner community, the people who live and work there, and the ways in which they interact. I also address the problems that currently lead to a lack of cohesion in the community.

FRAGMENTATION AND COMMUNITY BUILDING IN UPHAMS' CORNER

Currently, many different factors lead to fragmentation, instability, and a lack of a clear identity in the Uphams' Corner community. Poverty, crime, and deteriorating conditions in the area contribute to high residential turnover and disinvestment. Ethnic, racial, linguistic, and cultural diversity sometimes create barriers to communication among those who live and work in Uphams' Corner. Divisions amongst

several different school districts, two different police and court districts, and several different districts for City Council, the State House of Representatives, and the State Senate, lead to fragmentation and a lack of political power. Here I turn to a more detailed explanation of each of these factors and the way in which they impact community development in Uphams' Corner.

Similar to other low income, deteriorating neighborhoods, the rate of residential turnover in Uphams' Corner is high. Residents who are able to improve their economic position frequently leave the neighborhood, and are replaced by newcomers with limited financial resources. This lack of stability makes it difficult for the community to develop strong local leaders who are committed to affecting positive change in the area, establish an effective base of political power among local residents, and develop a clearly articulated vision for the future of the community. Similarly, the lack of community stability discourages investment, inhibits economic growth, and makes it difficult to create a positive environment where residents will remain committed to the community over the long term, and are willing to invest themselves in creating the kind of environment where they would like to live, work, and raise their families.

Additionally, the community is highly fragmented because

it is split in so many ways for social and economic planning and provision of services. For example, Uphams' Corner is split into three different school zones. Mary Gunn, director of the Bird Street Youth Center notes, "Our kids are exported all over the city. At the youth center we serve 150 kids ranging from six to 18 years of age, and they attend 44 different schools." This makes it difficult for children to make friends with local playmates and for parents to get to know one another. Also, because many children don't attend schools near their homes, it makes it more difficult for them to feel attached to Uphams' Corner.

The area is also split between two police districts. The area to the east of Columbia Road is in District C, while the area west of Columbia is in District B. Residents and merchants agree that there is a lack of communication and coordination of services between the two police districts. Currently, the Board of Trade is trying to get the police districting line adjusted slightly so that both sides of the commercial district along Columbia Road will be included in District B, while the residential areas to the east of Columbia remain within District C. Members of the Board of Trade strongly support this change and are hopeful that law enforcement within the district will be more effective if the entire commercial area is in one police district.

Columbia Road also forms a clearly defined geographical split between relatively more stable, higher income, predominantly white neighborhoods such as Jones Hill, Savin Hill, and Columbia, and less stable, lower income, ethnically mixed or predominantly minority neighborhoods such as Uphams' Corner, Dudley, and Grove Hall. Residents to the west of Columbia Road are more likely to shop in Uphams' Corner, while those to the east are less likely to do so.

The neighborhood is also split into two court districts and several different districts for City Council, the State House of Representatives, and the State Senate. The president of the Board of Trade noted, "Politically, this is a no man's land. There isn't a 'go to' person to approach with a problem."

Fragmentation is also reflected among merchants in the commercial district. In interviews, merchants report that poor communication and distrust sometimes result from cultural and linguistic differences, business competition, lack of information, and a feeling of powerlessness to address problems in the district through collective or individual action. For example, some merchants in the district have operated neighboring shops for upwards of 10 years; yet, in interviews they reported that because they share no common language, they rarely communicate with one another beyond a

passing "Hello". An Hispanic merchant noted, "I've been here for 11 years. This is the first time I've seen interest in getting a Board of Trade here. I didn't even know this existed. Maybe the Americans only do this among themselves."

An Arab merchant reported that jealousy and fear of competition sometimes play a role in creating animosity between merchants. "The problem here is that there are no friendships between the merchants and some are even enemies. The problem is jealousy, but it shouldn't be like that. More stores bring more people. More stores is better for me. There isn't any union among us. This is difficult. I prefer more merchants. In New York City there are loads of stores -- they all sell the same things. They all work and they all make money. Nobody knows why we don't get along here."

Other merchants complained that some merchants are not willing to invest money in their businesses or to work collectively to solve common problems. This fragmentation clearly underscores the need for continued efforts to organize merchants and strengthen the Uphams' Corner Board of Trade.

Clearly poverty, crime, fragmentation, disinvestment, language barriers, and instability contribute to a lack of community in the area; yet, the impact of ethnic diversity on the development of community is not as easily evaluated or

quantified. Some residents and merchants argue that diversity is a liability to developing a cohesive community in Uphams' Corner, while others argue that it is one of the area's greatest assets.

The population of Uphams' Corner has remained approximately evenly divided between black, white, and Hispanic over the last 10-15 years. Within each of these categories there are many, many different ethnic groups, with origins all over the world. Nearly all streets in the area reflect this diversity. Uphams' Corner is a thoroughly integrated community without "turf" areas or major conflict along racial lines (Uphams' Corner Neighborhood Housing Services 1985).

Nevertheless, the tremendous racial, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity could make it more difficult to establish a cohesive community identity in Uphams' Corner and to develop a strong political base to advocate for the interest's of the community. Diversity sometimes leads to communication barriers between individuals and between ethnic groups. At the same time, diversity also makes for a lively mix of peoples and cultures that invigorates the Uphams' Corner community. Uphams' Corner is one of the most diverse of Boston's neighborhoods, and some merchants and residents believe that the development of a multicultural community

could be one of its greatest assets.

Some merchants, residents and shoppers feel the ethnically based shops are an attraction to the area, others, however, disagree. One long time Dorchester resident noted, "Now the stores are all ethnically related. They are all clustered together and tell the other stores to stay away. I can't read the names on the stuff they sell and I don't shop there anymore."

Another merchant reported that the diversity in the community is one of the best things about the neighborhood saying, "All kinds of people come into my restaurant. These people are loyal customers. I get more respect from the customers here. I used to have a store in South Boston, but I like it here better. My friends ask me how I stay here. I tell them there are good people here. Ninety nine percent of the people here are good."

The positive and negative impacts of ethnic diversity in Uphams' Corner are debated by residents, merchants, and policy makers alike; yet, there is no disagreement that poverty, crime, fragmentation, and business decline have adversely affected the area. Strategies to address these issues will be discussed in Chapter Three. I turn now to an examination of market opportunities in the commercial district.

MARKET OPPORTUNITIES IN UPHAMS' CORNER

A 1991 market study prepared by Melvin F. Levine and Associates titled "Opportunities for Retail Stores in Boston's Neighborhoods," revealed that there are significant opportunities for additional retail businesses in Uphams' Corner. In this study, Levine compared three different variables: local incomes, local expenditures, and local sales for Boston's neighborhoods. This data revealed that, at present, much of the consumer spending of Uphams' Corner residents is outside the district. Consequently, there are significant market opportunities in Uphams' Corner for local businesses to "recapture" this spending. (See Exhibit C next page)

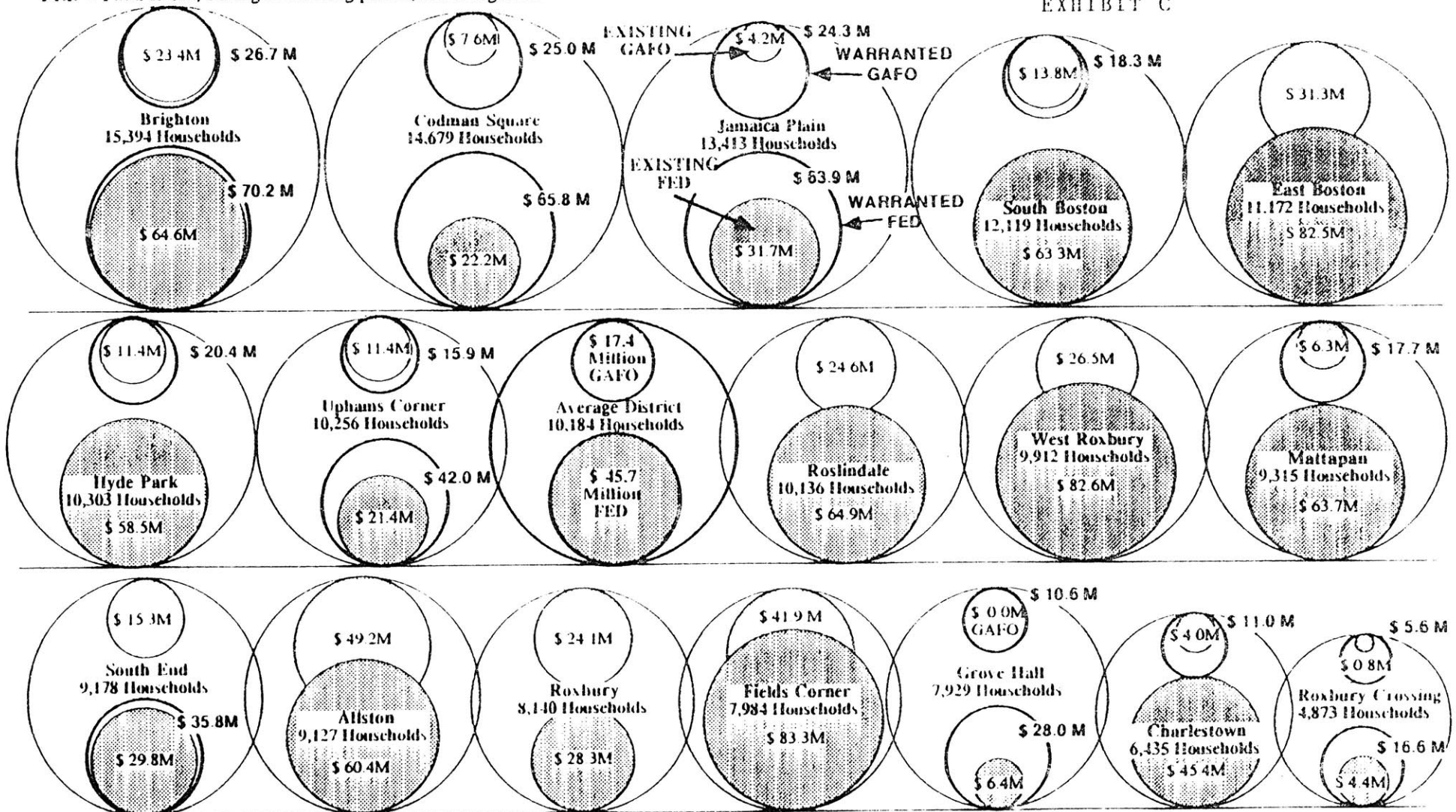
In this study, retail opportunities are determined based upon a comparison of demand (in terms of retail expenditures), supply (in terms of sales), and census track data that show average annual incomes for residents of Boston's neighborhoods. Retail stores are divided into two different categories, "General merchandise, Apparel, Furniture, and other shopping goods," identified by the acronym "GAFO;" and "Food stores, Eating and drinking places, and Drugstores," identified by the acronym "FED".

GAFO SALES AND FED SALES BY RESIDENTIAL ZIPCODE DISTRICTS: BOSTON 1990 (in \$ Million)

GAFO = General merchandise, Apparel, Furniture, and Other shopping goods stores.

FED = Food stores, Eating & drinking places, and Drugstores

EXHIBIT C



This chart shows :

(a) the residential zipcode districts of the City of Boston arrayed from the largest (Brighton, 15,394 households), to the smallest (Roxbury Crossing, 4,873 households).

(b) the volumes of sales in **GAFO** (Shopping Goods) stores (shaded circles at the **top** of each district circle);

(c) the volumes of sales in **FED** (Convenience) stores (shaded circles at the **bottom** of each district circle);

(d) and the volumes of sales warranted in each of the districts that are underserved by GAFO stores, or FED stores, or both , e.g.

\$ 5.6 M
Roxbury Crossing

This study determined that the supportable or "warranted" sales for FED stores in Uphams' Corner is \$42.0 million, but the current capture rate is only \$21.4 million, or 43.3 percent. Warranted GAFO is \$15.9 million, but the current capture rate is only \$11.4 million, or 26.5 percent. Thus, there are opportunities for local retailers to recapture \$20.6 million in local spending that is currently spent elsewhere, in addition to any regional spending that can be attracted to the area.

Consequently, Levine argues that current income levels and local consumer spending in Uphams' Corner could support the following new retail businesses if local income could be recaptured in the neighborhood business district: one supermarket, four "other food stores" and ten "eating and drinking places".

Levine cautions, however, that in order for these market opportunities to be realized, there must be aggressive development programs in order to stimulate retail development, including:

- 1) Effective and sensitive security programs on the streets so that customers will feel safe where they live and where they shop;
- 2) Aggressive economic development programs throughout the

city to create jobs, increase incomes, and increase the purchasing power for city residents; and

3) Affordable housing, improved schools, and improved community environments in all districts so that new households will be encouraged to move into the city, and current residents will be encouraged to remain in the city.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR COMMERCIAL REVITALIZATION IN UPHAMS' CORNER

In this chapter I have discussed both the strengths and weaknesses of the Uphams' Corner commercial district. Among its greatest assets are the number of successful long term businesses, the strength and leadership of the local community based agencies, locational features, and several community institutions that have a regional draw. An additional asset is the opportunity for retail development described in the Levine study. Liabilities include the high level of crime in the district, deteriorating physical conditions, low income levels and high unemployment, fragmentation and the lack of community in Uphams' Corner. Ethnic diversity is described as both an asset and a liability, but could be seen as an asset towards developing the commercial area around an ethnic theme. An approach to addressing these assets and liabilities in a comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE UPHAMS' CORNER MODEL

**A comprehensive commercial revitalization strategy for a
multi-ethnic, low income, inner city neighborhood**

In this chapter I propose that in a low-income, multi-ethnic community, a successful commercial revitalization effort must be seen as part of a larger effort to develop the community economically, physically, and socially. In addition to business development, the broader context must also include developing housing and employment opportunities, and efforts to develop community identity, pride, and political empowerment. In order for commercial revitalization to be successful, there must also be a comprehensive effort to stabilize the surrounding residential areas, reduce crime, create employment opportunities and increase overall income levels in the community, improve schools, support the development of a multicultural community identity, and improve the image of the neighborhood business district so that residents and outsiders will be encouraged to frequent the district.

A comprehensive model for commercial revitalization can

thus be developed by combining elements of the Main Street model for commercial revitalization with elements of two other development models, that of the Ethnic Enclave and the Business Development-Community Development model. I will refer to the selective combination of these strategies as the Uphams' Corner model. This strategy is based upon the following eight elements:

- 1) Organize local actors;
- 2) Improve public safety;
- 3) Develop local businesses and attract new ones;
- 4) Support the development of a multi-cultural identity;
- 5) Strengthen and support local community based agencies;
- 6) Link business development to community development;
- 7) Promote and market the neighborhood business district; and
- 8) Improve physical conditions.

I turn now to a detailed discussion of how each of these elements relate to commercial revitalization and community development in Uphams' Corner.

1) ORGANIZE LOCAL ACTORS

The first task for a successful commercial revitalization effort in Uphams' Corner is to bring together the actors who will plan and implement the strategy. Currently, the Public

Facilities Department of the city of Boston, Dorchester Bay EDC, and the Uphams' Corner Board of Trade are the principal actors in the revitalization effort. In the fall of 1991, these three groups joined with other local community based agencies and resident groups to sign a collaborative agreement outlining the goals of the revitalization effort.

The development of a strong Board of Trade is vital to the success of revitalization efforts in Uphams' Corner. In order to rebuild the area's image, revitalize its economic base, and set a positive direction for its future, community leaders and merchants must work to establish a consensus and goals, bring together diverse groups, and develop a strong Board that can fill a central management function for the neighborhood business district. An effective Board of Trade can facilitate communication between various actors in the community, manage district wide promotion and marketing efforts, advocate for public improvements and investment in the business district, attract resources to the area, represent the interests of the district in the larger institutional environment, and continue revitalization efforts when city involvement in the area is reduced.

Since the signing of the collaborative agreement, membership in the Board of Trade has grown and attendance at the monthly Board of Trade meetings has increased. The

efforts of the bilingual (Spanish/English) Neighborhood Business Manager, employed by the Public Facilities Department, have been particularly instrumental in helping to increase participation in the Board of Trade and bring about a renewed sense of hope for the future of the district.

In order for the current commercial revitalization effort to succeed, the position of neighborhood business manager must be a full time, permanent position. In order for the city government to fulfill its commitment to revitalizing the area, it must continue to fund the position of Neighborhood Business Manager through the Public Facilities Department, or provide seed money to enable one of the locally based community agencies such as Dorchester Bay EDC to staff this position.

Success in the long term means recognizing organization as a key component of revitalization and community development and working to maintain and improve its quality (National Trust for Historic Preservation 1990). Building effective community based institutions like the Board of Trade, however, requires hard work, commitment, and perseverance, and takes time, even under ideal circumstances. Local merchants and other community actors must be convinced that it is in their best interest to work collaboratively in order to successfully resolve problems that effect individual businesses, as well as those that effect the district as a whole.

In Uphams' Corner, the need for organization is particularly urgent. The majority of businesses are small enterprises, usually owned and managed by one individual with few other employees. Local merchants struggle against a host of internal and external constraints to business development, and frequently lack access to information, financing, and business expertise that could help to make their businesses more successful.

Similar to any commercial district, local merchants in Uphams' Corner are busy and many feel that they cannot take time away from their businesses in order to attend meetings or work on committees. This problem is particularly acute among the smaller businesses where the owner is frequently the only employee and thus must "mind the shop or close the store". Additionally, owing to the current state of disinvestment and neglect, many merchants and community members feel powerless to affect positive changes in the neighborhood, and lack confidence in the city's willingness to improve conditions in the area.

Merchants and residents alike express their distrust of the city's commitment to improving conditions in the district. Many feel that the city has simply abandoned the area by failing to provide adequate police protection and sanitation

services, and that elected officials fail to represent the interests of the district. One merchant noted, "The only relation I have with them is when they want votes. Then they want to put signs in the windows."

At present, the Public Facilities Department provides the Board of Trade with a district business manager, technical support for business development and physical redesign of the area, and has used its influence to improve other city services such as law enforcement and sanitation. Elected leaders of the Board of Trade are from the Uphams' Corner community. The president is the Director of the Uphams' Corner Health Center, the Vice President is a local optometrist, the Treasurer, a local merchant, and the Secretary, the Director of the Strand Theater. Currently, highest participation in the Board of Trade comes from the nonprofit agencies, the banks, and police officers from both District B and C, while participation from the merchants has been irregular.

The difficulty of organizing an effective Board of Trade is compounded by the tremendous ethnic and racial diversity among the merchants of Uphams' Corner. This diversity frequently results in cultural and linguistic barriers that inhibit communication, and the development of communal goals and a coherent vision for what the business district could

become. There is a lack of communication between merchants and a lack of access to information.

Thus, one of the greatest challenges facing the current effort is to bring together merchants of different ethnic backgrounds with multiple agendas, in order to develop leadership and consensus from within this diverse group. In spite of the obstacles, some merchants believe that the district can be organized to affect positive changes, but that it will require a lot of effort. One Hispanic merchant advised the Neighborhood Business Manager, "What we need here, is that you have to go and visit all the merchants and organize them. You have to go to each one individually and tell them that we need to work together."

Several recent activities have encouraged increased merchant participation. These include completion of the Mt. Auburn market study outlining development options for the district and other improvements such as, the assignment of a "Beat Cop", relocation of a bus stop that impeded pedestrian traffic, plans to improve security in the parking lot, and a Christmas tree lighting ceremony during the holiday season. It is hoped that more instances of demonstrated success, brought about by collective effort, will encourage increased merchant involvement in the Board of Trade.

Only through close working partnerships between public, private, and nonprofit actors can Uphams' Corner begin to address problems of disinvestment and decline in the business district. The city government and the Board of Trade must work together with merchants, residents, local community based agencies, law enforcement officials, financial institutions, and other local actors in order to build confidence that conditions in the district can improve and to encourage cooperative action towards the attainment of community development goals.

2) IMPROVE PUBLIC SAFETY

One of the major obstacles to business development in Uphams' Corner is the high level of crime in the district and the perception of the area as a hostile environment. Interviews with merchants, shoppers, and residents revealed that fear of crime is the single largest barrier to increased shopping activity in the district.

In Uphams' Corner, the problems of street crime and loitering represent three distinct challenges. First, the level of crime, especially drug trafficking, must be reduced with increased law enforcement, including more surveillance and arrests. Second, perceptions of the area as an unsafe place, must be altered. The level of criminal activity in the

area has in fact reduced since the publication of the Globe article mentioned in Chapter Two; yet, perceptions of the area as a hostile place will take longer to change. And, third, local young people need increased access to wholesome recreational activities that will help them resist the "lure of the streets." Some of the young people "hanging" on street corners are not involved in any illegal activity; yet, they have no place else to go and their presence intimidates users of the commercial district. These last two issues will be addressed in more detail later in this chapter. I now turn to the role of the Boston Police Department (BPD) in Uphams' Corner, and its efforts to reduce crime through community policing.

Community policing, implemented by the BPD in 1991, is an approach aimed at reducing the level of crime and violence in Boston, as well as building stronger relationships between police and neighborhood residents. Community policing emphasizes the importance of joint, cooperative public safety efforts between police, and the residents and business people they serve. Police officers maintain close working relationships with people in the community, in order to address specific problems which may affect the level of crime and the quality of life in their neighborhoods.

In Uphams' Corner, community policing has meant that a

"Beat Cop" has been assigned to patrol the area, on foot, on a daily basis. Two officers have been assigned to Uphams' Corner and are becoming familiar with the dynamics of the district, as well as the residents and business people who live and work there. It is hoped that these "Walk and Talk" shifts will encourage familiarity, trust, and increased communication between local citizens and the police in order to reduce the level of criminal activity through both law enforcement and crime prevention.

Currently, the two police officers assigned to the area, as well as BPD community affairs officers have been attending meetings of the Board of Trade on a regular basis. Increased communication between the police and local business people about illegal activity and situations that could create opportunities for criminals will undoubtedly help to reduce the level of crime in the district. Many merchants have already commented on the positive effects of the "Beat Cop" on the area, and are looking for more ways in which to share information and help to make the daily patrols even more effective.

Local merchants are hopeful that the new "Beat Cop" will have a positive impact on the area. One local merchant noted, "We need the security of the cop on the street at all times, one that we would be able to pass info onto. There's a need

for trust. We have to establish a relationship with the cop. We have to get the kids off the street. It only takes one good cop to do this. If we call 911, we get 20 cruisers when one good cop could have prevented it in the first place."

Residents, merchants, community based agencies, and the police, have also formed a collaborative called the Uphams' Corner Drug Task Force (UCDTF) in order to share information about crime related problems in the community. Through the UCDTF, community members have access to information regarding police operations, and local law enforcement officials are informed of weaknesses in police coverage from the community's point of view, and also of specific problems that need to be solved.

Increased police visibility and involvement in law enforcement and crime prevention is critical to the success of commercial revitalization and community development efforts in Uphams' Corner. In fact, the extent to which crime and drug activity has negatively impacted the business district and the community at large, has offset previous attempts at commercial revitalization and community development. It is hoped that the Boston Police Department will remain committed to its effort to reduce crime in Uphams' Corner.

3) DEVELOP LOCAL BUSINESSES AND ATTRACT NEW ONES

Currently, there are approximately 70 retail businesses in the Uphams' Corner neighborhood business district, of these approximately 54 are locally owned. The retail mix consists of a few franchises or chain stores including a convenience market, a shoe store, and a fast food restaurant, while the majority of enterprises are locally owned small businesses, many of which are owned by ethnic entrepreneurs. At present, there is no supermarket or department store in the district to "anchor" the commercial area; yet, there are several other local institutions that draw large numbers of people to the area including the Uphams' Corner Health Center, the Strand Theater, the banks, post office, and Boston Edison.

It is important to recognize that in Uphams' Corner, as is the case in any business district, changes in the commercial sector are market driven. Shoppers will patronize the area based upon their perceptions of what the district has to offer with regard to variety of stores, quality of goods and services, convenience, price, and safety, while entrepreneurs will invest in the area based upon their perceptions of market opportunities, ease of doing business, level of profitability, and possibility of long-term business stability and success. Thus, in order to improve conditions in the district, a comprehensive commercial revitalization

strategy must include efforts to strengthen current businesses and attract new ones while also working to alleviate factors that inhibit commercial development and discourage shopping in the district.

It is generally accepted that the best mix of retail tenants in any commercial district is a combination that includes well known national or regional chains as well as smaller locally owned shops. A major anchor tenant such as a supermarket or department store will attract large numbers of shoppers to the area who will also patronize the smaller, locally owned specialty shops (National Council for Urban Economic Development 1983). Under current conditions, however, owing to limited consumer spending in the trade area and high crime rates in the neighborhood business district, it seems unlikely that additional national or regional chain stores or franchises could be attracted to Uphams' Corner (Hemp, The Boston Globe 1991). Thus it seems appropriate to develop a commercial revitalization strategy that builds upon the strengths of the smaller locally-owned enterprises, in order to stabilize the district and increase the possibility of attracting a broader mix of businesses in the future.

Based on my interviews with merchants and the Mt. Auburn business survey, local business owners in Uphams' Corner could benefit substantially from technical and business support on

specific operational problems including marketing, finance, accounting, inventory management, purchasing, personnel supervision, and similar subjects. This technical support can be offered through the Neighborhood Business Division of the Public Facilities Department (PFD). It is important that business training and counseling be sensitive to the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the various entrepreneurs in the district and will require either a bilingual trainer or an interpreter when necessary.

The Mt. Auburn merchants survey revealed that there are several merchants in the district who want to expand their businesses, and that some of these merchants have been denied financing. PFD and other members of the Board of Trade should work to help these merchants improve their chances for obtaining financing and expanding their businesses in the future.

The Mt. Auburn survey also revealed that residents and merchants alike decried the limited mix of businesses in the area. Currently, many feel that there are too many furniture stores and not enough of just about everything else. The following were mentioned as businesses that residents and merchants would like to see locate in the area: a supermarket, clothing stores, fast food restaurants, shoe stores, a card shop, and a drug store.

The neighborhood business district in Uphams' Corner will not be able to compete with other shopping centers located nearby that have a supermarket, department store, and a large parking lot such as those in Fields Corner and along Morrissey Boulevard. Thus it seems that the best strategy for Uphams' Corner is to carve out a market niche that is not filled by major retailers. One possibility is to develop the area around an ethnic or multicultural theme focusing on the unique ethnic diversity in Uphams' Corner, as well as the multicultural entertainment and cultural offerings of the Strand Theater.

Improving the current mix of retail businesses in Uphams Corner and/or adopting a strategy of pursuing an ethnic market niche, presents several challenges. From a marketing perspective, the ethnic diversity of the residents and merchants in Uphams' Corner, is seen as both a major obstacle to commercial development, and a major asset. Merchants who cater to the consumer needs of a specific ethnic group, providing ethnically based goods that are unavailable elsewhere, benefit from a high degree of customer loyalty; however, their customer base is reduced because they are less likely to attract shoppers from other ethnic groups or the mainstream. On the other hand, merchants who cater to mainstream consumer preferences have a greater likelihood of attracting a broader base of shoppers; yet, these merchants

are at a disadvantage when competing with other merchants, both inside and outside Uphams' Corner, including other small enterprises, as well as large retailers and franchises.

The high number of ethnic merchants in Uphams' Corner suggests that one of the strategies to revitalize the area would be to strengthen the current mix of ethnically-owned businesses and also attract more ethnic entrepreneurs to the business district. This presents two options -- develop the area around a Hispanic theme, or around a multi-ethnic theme reflecting the larger diversity in the community. Of course there is some overlap between these two. A latino theme is a strong possibility because of the high concentration of Hispanics in the community; 25 percent of residents are Hispanic and Hispanics are by far the largest group among the ethnic merchants. A multi-ethnic theme would be more representative of the larger diversity in the neighborhood and help to further strengthen the formation of a multicultural community identity in Uphams' Corner.

A well promoted and marketed ethnic theme emphasizing the variety of goods and services and ethnically based restaurants in the area, the multi-ethnic cultural and entertainment offerings of the Strand theater, and street festivals and other activities that celebrate the different cultures in Uphams' Corner could succeed in drawing large numbers of

people to the business district. Promotion and marketing of an ethnic theme, the development of a multicultural community identity, and adopting an ethnic theme for redesign of storefronts and signage, are all topics that will be further explored later in this chapter.

One possibility for new development is to establish an ethnically-based food market. Residents, merchants, and others who use the district frequently express their desire for a supermarket in the area. However, three supermarkets that have operated in Uphams' Corner have failed in recent years owing to a combination of lack of parking, lack of sufficient demand, security concerns, and poor management. Under current conditions, it seems unlikely that a major supermarket chain will locate in the area; however, the possibility of attracting an ethnically based food market is an option that should be pursued. A market similar to "Tropical Foods" in Roxbury that sells groceries and household items in addition to ethnic specialty food items could be very successful in Uphams' Corner and would be an asset to the entire community, bringing needed goods and services, occupying underutilized space, creating jobs for community residents, and helping to support ethnic diversity in the community. This market could occupy the currently underutilized "Las Americas" building or 600-618 Columbia Ave.

Another possibility for new development would be a "mercado". A mercado is a large building that has many stalls where a variety of items are sold by individual vendors. The types of booths can include: fresh produce, poultry, meats, seafood, prepared food, and other non-food items, such as ethnic handicrafts, plants and flowers, beauty supplies, and books. Services offered in the mercado can include: shoe repair, dry cleaning, and an automated bank teller station (Bickerdike Redevelopment Corporation 1992).

Mercados have been successfully developed and leased by community development corporations in low-income inner city neighborhoods nationwide including Miami, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and others. This concept serves as a combination community market and small business incubator. Rental of stalls, booths, or pushcarts within the market is affordable for small business owners or those just starting a business.

A similar concept is that of an indoor permanent flea market where locally produced handicrafts, clothing, and other items, second hand goods, and new merchandise can be sold, bartered, or traded. Again, rental of tables or booths is affordable for low-income residents and the merchandise is also reasonably priced.

Residents and merchants frequently mentioned the desire for more restaurants of all kinds in the area. Fast food restaurants, "sit down" restaurants, family restaurants, and a greater variety of restaurants were all suggested as desirable. Geri Guardino, director of the Strand Theater, mentioned that theater patrons frequently ask about a convenient place to dine near the Strand, yet she must suggest restaurants outside the area because there are so few in Uphams' Corner. Thus, another possibility for development around an ethnic theme would be to attract more ethnic restaurants of all kinds to the area. These eating places could be promoted as part of the general activities in the district, as well as a complement to events at the Strand.

Another asset of the business district frequently mentioned by shoppers and residents is that the majority of local merchants receive praise for the friendly and attentive service they offer patrons of diverse ethnic backgrounds. In addition to offering assistance with merchandise selection as well as answering questions, many merchants take the time to engage in friendly conversation with patrons making them feel welcome and appreciated.

The task of attracting new businesses to Uphams' Corner can best be achieved by the combined efforts of the Neighborhood Business Manager and the Board of Trade.

Recruiting prospective business owners requires a concentrated effort and commitment to the overall success of both the business district and individual merchants. Efforts on the part of the Neighborhood Business Manager working "one on one" with local entrepreneurs and property owners who have commercial space to lease or sell, will significantly increase the prospects for attracting more businesses to the area.

The findings of the Levine study entitled "Opportunities for Retail Stores in Boston's Neighborhoods", detailed in Chapter Two, strongly suggest that if local spending could be recaptured in the neighborhood business district, significantly more businesses could successfully operate in Uphams' Corner. Again it is important to remember that efforts to strengthen current businesses and attract new ones must be combined with other efforts to improve conditions in the commercial area, as well as the surrounding residential areas.

Commercial activity in Uphams' Corner will increase when residents and other consumers are convinced that the district offers the kinds of goods and services they prefer in a pleasant shopping environment; and new businesses will come when they are convinced that the district offers opportunities for profit and long-term success. By pursuing an ethnically based theme, the neighborhood business district could

successfully carve out a niche market that does not currently exist anywhere nearby. An ethnically based commercial area could successfully draw residents back to the business district, and may also attract outsiders with multi-ethnic goods and services that are unavailable elsewhere in the city, and colorful celebrations of ethnic diversity.

4) SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITY IDENTITY

Similar to many cities in the United States, Boston is primarily a segregated multi-ethnic city. Members of distinct ethnic groups tend to be highly concentrated in certain neighborhoods. Some of the most obvious examples of this ethnic concentration are the Irish in South Boston, the Chinese in Chinatown, blacks in Roxbury, and Italians in the North End. In each of these cases, there is, in fact, some degree of diversity within the community, yet clearly one ethnic group predominates.

During the last decade, however, ethnic diversity has increased in Boston, and members of various ethnic groups have become increasingly more dispersed in neighborhoods throughout the city. A 1992 report in The Boston Globe revealed the extent to which the population of the city changed during the last decade and how members of various ethnic groups have

settled in many different areas of the city. New immigrants have helped push the minority population from 29 percent to 41 percent in the 1980s. Longtime Irish and Italian residents are making way for Asians, Hispanics, and a growing black population (Rezendez, The Boston Globe 1992).

According to the federal census, the number of Asians in the city increased by 96 percent during the 1980s; the number of Hispanics increased by 72 percent; and the black population, still the largest minority group in Boston, rose 12 percent. By 1990, after a decade in which the total population grew slightly, from 563,000 to 574,000, the city was 59 percent white, 24 percent black, 11 percent Hispanic and 5 percent Asian (Rezendez, The Boston Globe 1992).

Labels used to describe recently arrived immigrant groups such as Hispanic, Asian, and Caribbean, obscure just how diverse the city is becoming. Newly arrived Hispanics include immigrants from Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Brazil, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, while Asian immigrants include those from Hong Kong, Vietnam, Cambodia, Korea, and the Philippines. Meanwhile, Boston's black population is expanding with new arrivals from Haiti and Cape Verde. The Boston Globe article goes on to describe how the diversity of newcomers, in addition to their scattered residential patterns, make it difficult to build the political

alliances so essential to the advancement of minorities (Rezendez, The Boston Globe 1992). Cultural and linguistic barriers to communication, as well as a lack of understanding and agreement on common goals, has also served to inhibit political empowerment and community and economic development in Uphams' Corner.

Uphams' Corner became an ethnically and racially mixed community in the 1970s, earlier than other Boston neighborhoods, and continues to play host to one of the most diverse populations in the city. A 1985 report prepared by the Uphams' Corner Neighborhood Housing Services counted 31 nationalities represented by residents in Uphams' Corner. Because of this diversity, Uphams' Corner does not quite fit with traditional patterns of racial, ethnic, or immigrant adaptation in American cities. It is not an ethnic enclave, because no one ethnic group predominates. It is not a "melting pot" where recently arriving immigrants are quickly assimilated into mainstream cultural norms and practices because many residents remain removed from mainstream institutions. Nor is it an Afro-American neighborhood. Residents and merchants alike agree that it is a multi-ethnic community where many different kinds of people live and work together.

Some merchants, residents, community activists, and

policy makers see diversity in Uphams' Corner as one of the area's greatest assets, while others see it as one of its liabilities. Some individuals see Uphams' Corner as one of Boston's most successfully integrated communities where interaction between the members of various ethnic groups is open and dynamic, and residents identify themselves as members of a proud, vibrant, multi-ethnic community. Others, however, see Uphams' Corner as a fragmented community, lacking cohesion, a common identity, and a clear vision for where it wants to go.

Still other community members and policy makers argue that Uphams' Corner is not really a "multi-ethnic" community, but rather a community in transition. They contend that the current diversity results from a demographic transition, an interim period where there is an overlap between one group leaving the neighborhood and another moving in. Others, however, maintain that while there is some demographic change in the community, the current mix of residents, roughly three equal parts of white, black, and Hispanic hasn't changed in the last decade, and that for many, this is one the most attractive features of the area.

The ethnic and racial diversity in Uphams' Corner is a harbinger of a new settlement pattern in American cities. As the populations of many American cities become increasingly

more diverse, and as members of various ethnic and minority groups become increasingly more dispersed among different neighborhoods within cities, the creation of multi-ethnic, multicultural communities will occur more frequently. There is a need for a greater understanding of the dynamics of social adaptation and community development in this type of urban setting. In order to foster economic growth and enhance the quality of life in ethnically diverse communities, members of different groups will need to develop effective alliances to further development goals of the entire community. The development of a multicultural community identity can help to further economic development goals as well as strengthen community pride.

The concept of multiculturalism is a relatively new one. Allan David Heskin, a noted urban planner, describes multiculturalism as follows,

Multiculturalism is a form of social relations in which different ethnicities "maintain their identities, but engage in extensive interaction and mutual influence." When multiculturalism occurs, "relations between single minorities and the dominant culture are complemented by organized interaction among minorities" and members of ethnic groups become "able and willing to communicate and cooperate across cultural boundaries" (Heskin and Heffner 1987, p.526). In the process each group's identity is continually enriched and reconstructed (The Struggle for Community 1991, p.104).

The development of a multicultural community identity in

Uphams' Corner extends farther than just inter-ethnic tolerance. It means forming effective coalitions between groups in order to advance community development goals that can benefit the entire community. The principles of multicultural community building are best exemplified by the efforts of the local community based agencies in Uphams' Corner including the Strand Theater, Dorchester Bay EDC, the Bird Street Youth Center and the Uphams' Corner Health Center. All of these agencies have ethnically and racially diverse staffs and boards of directors, and all emphasize the importance of community building across ethnic and racial groups in the services they provide to the community. All of these agencies provide a warm welcome to diverse community members through the provision of services that are sensitive to the customs, preferences, and practices of the various ethnic groups in the area.

Similarly, the Virginia-Monadnock Neighborhood Association and the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative have successfully built community among residents of diverse backgrounds. Both organizations hold multi-lingual community meetings with simultaneous translation. More recently, the Board of Trade, with a bi-lingual Neighborhood Business Manager, has also been successful at bringing together merchants of diverse backgrounds in order to act cooperatively for the common good.

One of the most important contributions that the current revitalization effort can make is to help build coalitions between members of various ethnic groups and facilitate the development of a multicultural community identity.

Additionally, because the tremendous racial and ethnic diversity in Uphams' Corner is somewhat unique among Boston's neighborhoods, it is an ideal attribute to attract people to the commercial district from all over the city. People will be drawn to the area to purchase "ethnic" items and to participate in celebrations of various ethnic groups in Uphams' Corner. Additionally, the merchants in Uphams' Corner already enjoy a reputation for extending hospitality to all groups that will help them attract and retain loyal customers from diverse backgrounds. Patrons know that their business is welcome and appreciated by the merchants of Uphams' Corner.

5) STRENGTHEN AND SUPPORT LOCAL COMMUNITY-BASED AGENCIES

One of Uphams' Corner's greatest assets is the dedicated group of professionals and community members that work for and support the local community based agencies such as the Uphams' Corner Health Center, the Strand Theater, Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation, the Bird Street Youth Center, the Uphams' Corner Board of Trade, and other neighborhood and resident associations. These community

institutions are important anchors of both the neighborhood business district and the surrounding residential areas. Their numerous contributions towards the betterment of economic, physical, and social conditions in the district have already been detailed.

Since the beginning of the economic decline in Uphams' Corner, the area has seen a steady decline in private investment and the number of merchants and professionals offering goods and services to the community. Over time, declining population levels, increased unemployment, and the transformation to a low income community combined to make the area less profitable for local businesses, and many simply left the area. Consequently, the free market fails to provide for many needs of the community including: employment, affordable housing, health care, entertainment and cultural activities, and recreational activities for youth. Fortunately, the gap in services has in large part been filled by the activities of the private nonprofit agencies in the area. Without the services of these agencies, many basic needs would be entirely unmet.

In addition to providing health and social services to the community, employment opportunities for local residents, youth programs, and community development and economic development initiatives, these agencies play a strong

leadership role within the community. They also have the capacity and commitment to advocate for the interests of the area in the larger institutional environment. Currently, these agencies also form the mainstay of the Board of Trade.

Furthermore, these institutions strongly support ethnic and racial diversity in the community and the development of multiculturalism. All of these agencies have multi-ethnic staffs, and serve all members of the community. Many also have bilingual or multi-lingual employees. Because these agencies have embraced diversity in the community, they are in a unique position to help develop and strengthen a vision of a proud, dynamic, multi-ethnic community identity in Uphams' Corner.

At present there is a large amount of vacant commercial space in the district, located primarily in three large buildings. It is unlikely that all of this space could be redeveloped for retail use, thus an alternative occupancy for these sites would be expansion for community based agencies in Uphams' Corner, or to attract others to the district. There is an urgent need for more youth services in the community, as well as employment training and placement programs for residents which could be located in this space. The Uphams' Corner Health Center is currently the largest employer in the neighborhood and could develop an employment training program

for health care workers. Another possibility would be to bring new cultural or social service institutions into this space that reflect the multicultural diversity of the community. The city government could help to facilitate the purchase and rehabilitation of some of the vacant buildings in the district, in support of community based agencies in Uphams' Corner, as well as to return these buildings to a constructive use for the community.

Additionally, the community based organizations in Uphams' Corner can help to overcome the level of fragmentation that currently exists in the delivery of services to the area. By working collectively in conjunction with the Board of Trade, local organizations can advocate for improved and more efficient delivery of city, state, and other services such as: education, public health, sanitation, public safety, employment placement and training and youth development. For example, currently, increased communication between the local organizations, local law enforcement officials, the Public Facilities Department, and the sanitation department has helped to improve some conditions in the district as a direct result of increased collaboration stemming from current commercial revitalization efforts.

All of these agencies have operated in the district for sometime, some as long as 20 years. They will remain

committed to serving the community well after the city has reduced its involvement in the current commercial revitalization effort. These community institutions will continue to provide leadership to the Uphams' Corner community over the long term and their stability and maintenance is critical in order for revitalization efforts to be successful over the long term. These agencies will need continued support and funding from both public sector and private grant making institutions. The strength, leadership, and stability of these community based organizations, in addition to the wealth of community services they offer Uphams' Corner residents, make them essential to the vitality of the neighborhood and its prospects for economic and community development.

6) LINK BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In order to enhance the possibilities for successful revitalization in the Uphams' Corner commercial district, business development should be linked with community development in order to attain objectives such as: stabilizing residential areas, expanding employment, recapturing local spending, strengthening community identity, developing local leadership and political power, and providing increased educational and job training opportunities for community residents. Many of the ideas developed in this section are

drawn from the Bendick and Egan (1991) Business Development-Community Development Linkage model.

The commercial center in Uphams' Corner is inextricably linked to the surrounding residential areas, and vice versa. Thus efforts to rehabilitate buildings and revitalize business activities must also be linked with efforts to increase the availability and the quality of affordable housing in the area. A thriving, well maintained business district makes the local housing stock more desirable, while attractive residential neighborhoods make the business district more appealing. Dorchester Bay EDC has successfully completed construction and rehabilitation of nearly 200 units of affordable housing and currently has several other housing projects underway. These efforts will complement those of the Public Facilities Department, and local merchants and property owners, to upgrade the physical appearance of the business district.

Similarly, improving other conditions in the district such as public safety, sanitation, and traffic circulation can all help to attract more shoppers and residents to the district thereby increasing the profitability of local businesses. Improvements such as these will also attract other businesses to Uphams' Corner, thus increasing the availability of goods and services for local residents.

The unemployment rate in Uphams' Corner is high; thus, job creation and employment placement and training are urgently needed by local residents. Commercial revitalization in the business district is likely to increase the number of jobs available to community residents, especially part time jobs; however, retail development alone is not likely to create a large number of new employment opportunities. Nevertheless, job creation can be expanded by linking retail development with light industry in the neighborhood or with the creation of services that cater to the needs of local businesses. Examples of this include: locally produced furniture that could be sold in the district's numerous furniture stores, hand made goods produced by local residents for sale at specialty shops or an ethnic handicraft market, and locally provided services for local merchants, such as accounting and tax assistance, insurance, photocopying services, printing, and legal services.

Additionally, the large amount of underutilized space and the central location of Uphams' Corner combine to make it an ideal setting for an employment training and placement program that could be developed by Dorchester Bay EDC or the Uphams' Corner Health Center. For example, an employment training center for careers in the health care field would be ideally located in Uphams' Corner given that the Health Center is the largest employer in the neighborhood and that the business

district is also in close proximity to several other health care facilities in Boston. An employment training center in Uphams' Corner would serve several different purposes including: job training and placement for local residents, utilization of currently vacant commercial space, attraction of large numbers of potential shoppers to the district. In addition, if the center were located in the building at 600-618 Columbia Ave, the municipal parking lot could be more effectively utilized thus discouraging drug activity and other crimes in the lot.

There is also an urgent need for more youth activities in the district. Currently, the Bird Street Youth Center serves 150 youngsters between the ages of six to 18, while the Strand Theater enrolls 100 teens yearly in their internship program; yet, demand for youth services and activities far exceeds supply. Currently, Dorchester Bay EDC is also planning a neighborhood recreational facility for young people. One of the major obstacles to revitalizing the business district is the level of drug activity and the presence of groups of teenage males that intimidate shoppers and potential users of the district. Local youngsters need access to wholesome recreational activities, job training and placement services, and other activities and social services in order to help them develop self confidence and a positive vision for their future. Like young people everywhere, teens in Uphams' Corner

need guidance from family, friends, and community institutions, in addition to appropriate social services that will help them resist the "lure of the streets" and the perception that drugs offer glamour and "easy money".

Some of the teens that "hang" on the street corners of the commercial district are engaged in criminal activity and the task of dealing with them falls with law enforcement officials, the criminal justice system, and juvenile welfare agencies; yet, other teens are "good kids", who simply have no place else to spend their free time. Thus, there is an urgent need for more youth activities to engage local young people and help them develop the skills they will need to be successful, productive, and happy individuals and to ensure that they do not contribute to perceptions of the commercial district as a "hostile" place.

Currently, the Bird Street Youth Center, the Uphams' Corner Board of Trade, and the Public Facilities are working to fund and develop a youth program that will place 15 local teens in part-time summer jobs with Uphams' Corner merchants. Participants will receive job training during May and June including basic skills such as: job interviewing, making change, basic bookkeeping, customer relations, answering phones, marketing, etc. During July and August, participants will work part time in local stores and then return to the

Youth Center for one hour each day to review their experiences and learn new skills. Each teen will be paid for participating in the program, both during the time they are in training, and for the time in which they are employed. This program is an excellent example of the ways in which business development can be linked to community development. In addition to providing an employment opportunity for local teens, this program also helps merchants to remain more involved with the community at large and to serve as role models for local young people.

Local merchants can also play a leadership role in the development of the community, both as local leaders and role models. Successful local merchants are figures of prestige in the community and their success and "can do" attitude can help to bring about positive changes in the district. Working collectively in the Board of Trade, local business people can effect change by successfully advocating for the interests of the area with city and state agencies, as well as with local elected officials. Additionally, while the Board of Trade helps to bring together merchants of various ethnic backgrounds, these merchants can in turn, advocate for the interests of the business district, and the community at large among their network of contacts with members of their own ethnic group and its institutions.

As role models, local merchants help to strengthen community identity and pride and bring stability to the neighborhood. They also help to maintain informal networks of job contacts and sources of information about housing, employment, local services, and community resources. As a symbol of success, minority entrepreneurs are especially important to members of their ethnic groups and are a powerful reminder that "members of my group can make it too". Local merchants also provide opportunities for residents to meet and interact within the neighborhood district, thus strengthening the development of community among residents.

Additionally, local merchants can take advantage of the multi-ethnic cultural and entertainment offerings at the Strand Theater, to both promote the district around an ethnic theme and to help strengthen the development of a multicultural community identity.

Finally, it is important that local business people remain involved in the neighborhood and actively support the attainment of community and economic development objectives that can benefit all community members. By remaining involved and active in the community merchants can help improve the quality of life in the area, and can also dispel fears that they only "take from the community", and do not give in return. Some community activists and local residents view

commercial revitalization and business development as "welfare for the rich". They argue that business development only benefits business people and that there is no economic "trickle down" to benefit the community. To dispel these negative perceptions of entrepreneurship and commercial development it is important that local merchants and development agencies make every effort to ensure that local merchants and the Board of Trade act to strengthen local businesses while also making efforts to ensure that the business district and local merchants play a positive role in the life of the community.

7) PROMOTE AND MARKET THE NEIGHBORHOOD BUSINESS DISTRICT

The goal of promotional activities in Uphams' Corner is to improve the image of the commercial district in order to attract shoppers and investors to the area and rekindle community pride. Effective promotion can be achieved through the joint efforts of the Board of Trade, The Strand Theater, and local businesses to sponsor activities, events, and retail sales that will increase activity in the district and revitalize its image as a dynamic, exciting place where people enjoy shopping, eating out, attending the Strand, and other activities.

The Board of Trade must play a centralized management

role in order to develop and implement a promotion and marketing strategy for Uphams' Corner. The Board of Trade can help to bring various community actors together to develop a common theme for the district and a unified marketing strategy to promote that theme, thus helping to create a more positive image of the community.

The Main Street model describes five different types of promotional activities which are useful for developing a promotional strategy for Uphams' Corner. They include the following: project promotion, image promotion, retail sales promotion, special events, and targeted promotions (National Trust for Historic Preservation 1990). In the following section I define each of these promotional strategies and give specific recommendations for promotional efforts in Uphams' Corner.

1) Project Promotion

Promotional efforts can begin with promotion of the commercial revitalization project itself and the collaborative agreement signed by the Board of Trade and several community based organizations and institutions in Uphams' Corner. Residents, merchants, and other users of the district must be informed that positive changes are taking place. In Uphams' Corner, this effort is already underway through efforts of the Public Facilities Department and the Board of Trade to

publicize revitalization activities in the district such as: the signing of the commercial revitalization collaborative agreement in the fall of 1991, the Christmas tree lighting ceremony in December 1991, and the recent reopening of Columbia Bowling attended by the mayor. During the initial stages of commercial revitalization this image building should be the main thrust of promotional efforts.

The Mt. Auburn shoppers survey and meetings with residents, merchants, and community groups revealed that Uphams' Corner is perceived by many as an unsafe, unattractive shopping district with a limited selection of goods and services. Furthermore, many members of the community revealed a deep seated mistrust of city government and its commitment to providing the public services necessary to revitalize the area such as: public safety, sanitation services, economic development initiatives, technical assistance to business owners, and public infrastructure improvements including sidewalk maintenance, increased parking, and improved signage.

In order to build public confidence in commercial revitalization efforts in Uphams' Corner, it is vital that the city maintain its commitment to providing public services to the community and that the public be informed of this commitment. These efforts will in turn convince merchants that it is worthwhile to invest in the area, and convince

residents that conditions in the district can be improved.

It will be difficult to change negative attitudes towards the shopping district and towards the city government, but it is an important first step in revitalization efforts. Perceptions change slowly over time and the city government, the Public Facilities Department, and local law enforcement officials must work together to improve the provision of municipal services and establish trust and goodwill with the community. While economic and other conditions may vary during the early stages of revitalization, the image in people's minds should progressively improve through efforts to emphasize the positive changes that are taking place in the district.

2) Image Promotion

Image promotion is designed to increase community awareness of the neighborhood business district as a distinct, identifiable area for shopping, business, and cultural and recreational activities. An effective promotional campaign can increase shopping activity in the district, support local businesses, and enhance civic pride. Frequently, the image of the neighborhood business district becomes the image that defines the community to both residents and outsiders and thus becomes an important element in the development of a community identity. Image promotion will help to establish the

commercial district as a symbol of community pride, ethnic diversity, and quality of life in Uphams' Corner.

Two of the most distinctive attributes of the Uphams' Corner commercial district are the Strand Theater and the ethnic diversity of residents and merchants. These two elements can be highlighted in a promotional campaign that links the multicultural entertainment and cultural activities of the Strand Theater with the varied and lively ambience in the neighborhood shopping district. Linking these two features will help to create a unified image of the shopping district and also help to develop a distinct community identity for members of the community.

Some of the ways in which image promotion can be carried out is through the development of an effective logo that can be used in all promotional campaigns to reinforce the notion of a unified commercial district and a unified community. Similarly advertising and publicity campaigns can link programming at the Strand with activities, events, and retail sales in the district.

The Strand Theater already has a well developed promotional campaign and good working relationships with local media sources. Thus, whenever possible, the Strand should tie its efforts to promote entertainment offerings at the theater

with efforts to promote a positive image of the entire commercial district.

The Board of Trade can play a central management role to coordinate district-wide promotional and advertising campaigns, such as seasonal retail sales events, holiday activities, festivals, and other special events.

3) Retail Sales Promotion

Joint merchandising and promotional efforts are also important ways to reinforce the image of a unified commercial district. Working together with the Board of Trade to promote the district, merchants will have a greater impact than the sum of individual businesses promoting themselves. Retail sales should be coordinated district-wide and can be tied into events at the Strand, holiday activities, and other events in the community. Cooperation around activities such as district-wide sales events, sidewalk sales, late closing hours for stores one night per week, and advertising campaigns can all help to increase shopping activity in the district.

Advertising is an important ingredient of retail promotion. The district's merchants should adopt a common format for advertising and use the district's logo to promote their own stores as well as the entire district.

4) Special Events

The purpose of special events is to provide entertainment with community-wide impact and excitement that will draw large numbers of people to the district. Special events help increase shopping activity in local businesses and support other community development goals by creating opportunities for community members to come together and socialize in the neighborhood business district. Although not specifically sales-oriented, special events indirectly benefit local merchants by increasing exposure and generating community goodwill and incidental sales.

In Uphams' Corner special events should involve a wide variety of community groups including: the Strand Theater, local community based organizations, the city government, schools, local arts groups, resident associations, youth groups, ethnic associations, religious organizations, and athletic associations and can be coordinated by the Board of Trade. Special events can be sponsored by any of these groups, or sponsored by the Board of Trade. By assisting and encouraging other community groups to sponsor events, the Board of Trade can help to establish relationships with other community actors as well as draw more people to the district. It is important for the community to feel that the neighborhood business district is a vital commercial and cultural community center, available for everyone's use and

enjoyment (National Trust for Historic Preservation 1990). Special events are one of the most effective methods for improving community attitudes towards the commercial district. Also, by bringing together residents of diverse backgrounds, special events can help support the development of a unified community identity.

Special events can include art shows, street fairs, sidewalk sales, arts and crafts fairs, flea markets, a weekly farmer's market, bicycle races, celebrations of historical, athletic, or seasonal events and ethnic cultural events, and theatrical and musical entertainment events at the Strand. Special events in Uphams' Corner should include activities for children and young adults, and make all members of the community feel welcome.

Other special events in Uphams' Corner can include ethnic festivals such as those celebrated in other neighborhoods of Boston such as the Puerto Rican festival in the South End, the celebration of the Chinese New Year in Chinatown, and the numerous street fairs and religious feasts celebrated in the streets of the North End. A festival can feature ethnically based entertainment, music, refreshments, and handicrafts, in addition to games, amusements, and recreational activities. Events can take place in the municipal parking lot, the Strand Theater, the Bird Street Youth Center, St. Kevin's courtyard,

and in the "pocket park" on Dudley Street. These events can also be linked with sidewalk sales and special promotions by local merchants. These events will draw more patrons to the district, and by celebrating ethnic themes and holidays, help to increase understanding and awareness of cultural diversity in the Uphams' Corner community.

5) Targeted Promotions

Targeted promotions refer to specialized, ongoing promotional campaigns such as business recruitment or public relations. Business recruitment can be carried out by the Board of Trade and the Neighborhood Business Manager in coordination with local realtors and property owners. An information packet should be assembled which includes a profile of available buildings, the recently completed market study by Mt. Auburn Associates, and information that describes the Uphams' Corner commercial district.

A public relations/media relations campaign is crucial to an ongoing promotional effort. Media coverage of promotions and special events can help create a positive image of the district and influence the way the community and the public thinks about the area. Whenever something special is happening in the district it is newsworthy. The more the community knows about the area, the more likely people are to use it.

To summarize, currently, business activity in Uphams' Corner is severely constrained by a negative perception of the area. Repeatedly merchants, residents, and other community members complain about the lack of public safety, cleanliness, and variety of goods and services in the neighborhood business district. The Board of Trade, Public Facilities Department and other community actors will need to make a concerted effort towards improving conditions in the district in order to effectively change negative attitudes towards the neighborhood business center.

Similarly, there is a long history of distrust between the community and the city government and this relationship must be rebuilt in order for current commercial revitalization efforts to succeed. It is vitally important that the city act to increase public confidence in its commitment to economic and community development in the area through the provision of municipal services.

8) IMPROVE PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

A stroll through the Uphams' Corner business district is a study in starkly contrasting visual images. On the one hand, the area is graced by several stately brick buildings attesting both to Uphams' Corners' former economic significance and its future potential; yet on the other, the

area is also blighted by a number of vacant and boarded up properties, poorly maintained storefronts, and litter filled lots. High vacancy rates in some portions of the district contribute to a feeling of desolation and abandonment.

Shoppers responding to the Mt. Auburn survey, as well as interviews with merchants and residents indicate that the area needs substantial physical upgrading and improved sanitation in order to make it more appealing. Shoppers and merchants complain about litter and the lack of litter receptacles, shabby storefronts, sidewalks with loose bricks, vacant buildings, dirty parking lots, and the general "hodge podge" appearance of the district.

Physical revitalization of the area will help to achieve both business development and community development goals. In the first place, an improved physical appearance will help to attract more shoppers to the area and consequently more investment. Secondly, an aesthetically pleasing physical environment that reflects the unique characteristics of the Uphams' Corner community provides a powerful symbol of community identity and pride for both residents and outsiders who use the district. An attractive business district creates a positive image of the neighborhood, its resources, residents, and merchants and will help to revitalize economic activity within the business district, as well as help to

stabilize adjoining residential areas.

A major asset of the Uphams' Corner commercial district is that it is physically anchored by several large, structurally sound brick buildings most of which have been adequately maintained. However, a major problem facing current revitalization efforts is the fact that two of these key anchor properties 600-618 Columbia and the Buckley Building are nearly vacant, and a third, the Columbia Square building is underutilized. Current efforts to revitalize the district have been hampered by a lack of cooperation from the current owners of these buildings. In some instances, the owners are unwilling to either sell the buildings or renovate them for rental occupants.

Because of the size and location of these properties, their appearance and use has a substantial impact on the business district as a whole. It is vital to the success of current revitalization efforts that these buildings be physically upgraded and occupied by suitable tenants. Efforts to revitalize the district are likely to be stymied if these property owners continue to be uncooperative and their buildings remain poorly maintained and underutilized.

One of the best alternatives for developing any of these key pieces of real estate in the district would be for

Dorchester Bay EDC to purchase and renovate them, as they did in the case of the Pierce Building. It makes sense for the city of Boston and Dorchester Bay EDC to use their considerable influence to encourage current owners to sell. An alternate strategy is to assist these landlords in finding suitable tenants for their properties and help arrange financing for renovations in order to ensure that these buildings are adequately maintained and utilized. If neither of these alternatives is achievable, the city might want to consider using its powers of eminent domain to acquire these properties or arrange for their sale to Dorchester Bay EDC.

Another major area of concern for both shoppers and merchants in the district is that of traffic congestion and the availability of convenient parking. The intersection of Dudley Street and Columbia Road is very busy, especially during commuter rush hour. The heavy volume of traffic in the area is seen as both an asset and a liability to commercial revitalization efforts; heavy traffic circulation increases the number of commuters and residents who stop to shop in the commercial district, while conversely, too much traffic discourages people from using the district owing to frustration with congestion and the lack of on street parking.

Because of the configuration of streets in the district there are not many options for reducing traffic congestion

outside of making a couple of the secondary streets leading into the district one way and moving bus stops away from the main intersection. However, merchants and residents agree that some congestion could be alleviated if vehicles were not permitted to double park along Columbia Road, and if parking on Dudley Street was permitted only on one side of the street. Nevertheless, under current conditions merchants and residents are reluctant to reduce the number of on street parking spaces or enforce parking regulations owing to concerns about safety in the municipal parking lot.

The municipal parking lot in Uphams' Corner is conveniently located, well maintained, and has space for 120 vehicles, yet it is barely used owing to fears of criminal activity including drug dealing, larceny, and auto theft. Currently, the Board of Trade is seeking funds to hire an armed municipal police officer to maintain security in the lot and encourage its use by local residents and other users of the district. If more shoppers could be encouraged to use the municipal lot, parking on Dudley Street could be permitted only on one side of the street and parking regulations could be enforced along Columbia Road thus improving traffic circulation in the district.

In addition to efforts to reduce high commercial vacancy rates in the area and increase use of the parking lot, the

Board of Trade and the Public Facilities Department are currently involved in an effort to develop design guidelines for the commercial district with the participation of local merchants and community residents. It is important that these design standards reflect the unique characteristics of the neighborhood and its residents in order to strengthen community identity with a physical environment that community members can relate to. Currently there are three design themes under consideration: 1) a historical theme in honor of the historical heritage of the area with its brick buildings and sidewalks; 2) a cultural theme in recognition of the artistic and entertainment offerings of the Strand Theater; and 3) an ethnic theme which celebrates the racial and ethnic diversity of community residents. Current community feedback indicates a preference for two different design themes; an ethnic theme for Dudley Street, and a historical theme for Columbia Road.

Physical redevelopment of the area, according to whatever design standards are eventually adopted, will be carried out through the use of federal Community Development Block Grants provided by the Public Facilities Department. Physical redevelopment efforts will include rehabilitation of some buildings, facade and storefront improvements, and improved signage. Building owners and merchants will be required to invest some of their own money.

Partial funding for physical redevelopment of the area is available through Public Facilities Department in the form of federally funded Community Development Block Grants (CDBG). Merchants and building owners will also be required to invest some portion of their own money in redevelopment efforts in order to qualify for CDBG funds.

The physical appearance of the commercial district is one of the most important factors in shaping the way that the district is perceived by both residents and outsiders. A vibrant, well maintained, aesthetically pleasing physical environment will attract shoppers and investors to the district, while an unattractive physical environment will only serve to discourage economic activity in the area.

To summarize, I have shown that a successful commercial revitalization strategy in a low-income, multi-ethnic community must be seen as part of a broader effort to develop the community economically, physically, and socially. In developing the Uphams' Corner model for commercial revitalization I have emphasized the need to develop the business district in such a way that it brings needed goods and services to community residents, creates jobs and opportunities for local entrepreneurs, reduces crime and improves the physical appearance of the neighborhood, and that it also fosters improved opportunities for community members

of diverse backgrounds to meet and interact within the neighborhood commercial district. I have also shown ways in which a multicultural community identity, and political empowerment can be strengthened through the development of community based institutions and local businesses.

In order to successfully revitalize the commercial district, current businesses must be strengthened and new ones must be attracted to the area. Problems that constrain business development in Uphams' Corner such as the high incidence of crime, high commercial vacancy rates, poor traffic circulation and lack of secure parking must be addressed. Additionally, concerns that are common to the development of small businesses in any setting such as access to capital and technical support for finance, marketing, and management must be considered.

From an economic development perspective, it is apparent that the revitalization of Uphams' Corner will bring needed goods and services to community residents, create jobs and opportunities for local entrepreneurs, and contribute to the tax base of the city; however in human terms it also means something more. By providing a place for residents to meet and socialize, local businesses bring vitality to the community. A thriving commercial district encourages residents to believe that they are part of a dynamic, multi-

cultural, proud community. Thus, a successful commercial revitalization strategy should also serve to strengthen a sense of community and pride among residents and merchants.

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPLICATIONS OF THE UPHAMS' CORNER MODEL

In this thesis, I have shown that in order for commercial revitalization to be successful in a low-income, multi-ethnic community, it must be seen in a broader context that includes other elements of community and economic development. An effective commercial revitalization strategy must be tailored to address economic, social, and physical conditions in the community, in addition to those of the neighborhood business district. In this way, commercial revitalization can be seen as a community development goal in and of itself, as well as a tool to advance other community development objectives.

Uphams' Corner is an important case study in urban development because it is a harbinger of a new settlement pattern in cities nationwide. Increasingly poverty is becoming more concentrated in the inner city, urban populations are becoming more ethnically and racially diverse, and manufacturing jobs, once the mainstay of the working class are disappearing, raising unemployment and dashing hopes of a more prosperous future for inner city residents.

Thus poverty alleviation and inter-ethnic and inter-

racial relations will be of increasing concern to both academics and practitioners in the field of urban planning. Many American cities have lost the manufacturing base that once provided employment for blue collar workers. In place of manufacturing jobs, urban economies are producing high skill service sector jobs in the fields of business, finance, high tech, insurance, education, and medical related fields. In order to reduce unemployment and poverty in the inner city, there is an urgent need for educational, employment, and training programs that will adequately prepare workers with the level of skill they need for employment in these fields. There is also an urgent need to create new jobs that match the currently underutilized skills of inner city residents.

Urban planners must learn about and be sensitive to diversity, to linguistic and cultural differences among different groups, to the practices and preferences of different groups, and to the needs of different groups. Increasingly planners will need the ability to work among and with residents and community leaders of various cultural backgrounds in order to ensure that inner city residents have an opportunity to live positive, productive lives, in secure, tolerant, and viable communities.

Uphams' Corner is representative of the way in which many inner city communities have been affected by economic,

demographic, and social change in the last two decades. Inner city merchants and residents alike struggle against a rising tide of deteriorating conditions, including poverty, crime, unemployment, inadequate municipal services, disinvestment, instability, poor schools, and a lack of political power.

In Uphams' Corner these problems have been further exacerbated by the extent of rapid demographic change in the neighborhood. Some see Uphams' Corner as a "transitional neighborhood," a place where recently arriving immigrant groups, and other racial and ethnic groups get a foothold in the city. When their economic prospects improve, they simply leave the area making way for the next group. One neighborhood resident remarked, "The only ones who stay in Uphams' Corner are those who really care, or those who can't get out."

Others, however, say that the high rate of demographic change results from the fact that the city has failed to provide adequate municipal services, unscrupulous realtors have engaged in block busting, banks have engaged in redlining, real estate speculators do not maintain their properties, residents are fearful of crime, and the schools are so bad that families don't want to send their children to them. One twenty year resident of the neighborhood claims that the demographic mix of residents, roughly three equal

parts of white, black, and Hispanic, has changed very little in the last 10 years; what has changed is that successively lower-income members of these ethnic groups are moving into Uphams' Corner. Thus, newer residents are less and less prepared to develop local leadership and to organize a political base that could effectively advocate for better services from the city and adequate representation from publicly elected officials.

Other residents agree with this point of view and argue that the multicultural community identity already works in Uphams' Corner and that it has been a community asset since the mid 1970s; however, the resident population will stabilize only when the city provides adequate services, especially law enforcement, education, and social services, and when other negative factors such as bank redlining are alleviated.

Fragmented service delivery systems have adversely affected the community. Divisions among different police districts, political districts, school districts, and municipal service delivery districts only serve to further reduce the efficiency of service delivery in Uphams' Corner and frustrate efforts to develop a strong base of political power. There is a need to alter many of these districting lines in order for the community to develop political power and to collectively advocate for improved services.

Additionally, there is a vital need to develop coalitions between various actors in the community. These coalitions must extend across ethnic and racial groups and bring together many different interest groups, including residents, merchants, community based organizations, city government, investors and other business people, and financial institutions. Building these coalitions will the community to develop a common agenda for change, political power, and a positive direction for future development.

In Uphams' Corner there is a long history of distrust and lack of faith in the city's commitment to deliver municipal services and improve conditions in the neighborhood. The widely held perception both inside and outside of Uphams' Corner is that City Hall has ignored the needs of the community. In order for revitalization efforts to succeed, the city will have to rebuild its relationship with the Uphams' Corner community as well as deliver on its promise to improve public safety, education, social services, and employment opportunities. In addition to providing municipal services, the city needs to remain committed to assisting local businesses. Business development in the inner city is important for economic development and for stabilizing residential.

Commercial revitalization and business development cannot

be pursued in isolation. In order to succeed, they must be implemented concurrently with other community development initiatives; otherwise, businesses will flounder and commercial revitalization will be seen as a failed policy, leading to abandonment of the entire effort and another round of disinvestment in the community.

Business owners also need to recognize that the business district plays an important role in the life of the community. In order to minimize ethnic conflict and competition, and to avoid perceptions that they only "take from the community and do not give back", local businesses need to be integrated into the community and be supportive of other community development efforts. The business district must be involved with the community and represented in many community oriented organizations. Business owners can also play a leadership role, acting as advocates for the business district and as role models for other members of the community.

Similarly, business owners can help strengthen multiculturalism in Uphams' Corner. Regardless of the ethnic origin of business owners, nearly all serve community members from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Most merchants are sensitive to different ethnic groups; several are bilingual or employ bilingual staffs. The merchants must maintain continued awareness of the importance of making members of all groups

feel welcome in their shops, and in the neighborhood business district. Additionally, by building an effective Board of Trade with representation from many different ethnic and racial groups, business owners can help support the development of other coalitions among diverse community residents.

The Board of Trade can play a vital role in improving the image of the business district and helping to develop community pride through the sponsorship of activities and events in the neighborhood and in the business district. Additionally, the Board of Trade can advocate for the interests of the area in the larger institutional context and help to draw other resources to the area to benefit the business district and the entire community.

Community based organizations need to work together to develop a common agenda for the area. There is a need for agencies to avoid "turf battles" and instead work collectively in order to overcome fragmentation in the delivery of services. Additionally, community based agencies will need to help train local community leadership to overcome cultural and linguistic barriers between groups.

In conclusion, this case study of Uphams' Corner offers important lessons about the ways in which commercial

revitalization in a multi-ethnic, low-income, inner city neighborhood can be used as a community development goal in and of itself, as well as a vehicle for advancing other economic and community development objectives. The Uphams' Corner model for commercial revitalization developed in this thesis, is grounded in previous research and experience in the field of urban planning, but more importantly, is an expression of community development goals as articulated by the people who live and work in the Uphams' Corner community. It is hoped that this research will contribute to current revitalization efforts in Uphams' Corner, and can also serve to assist revitalization efforts in other inner city communities.

EPILOGUE

On Friday night, May 9, 1992, the Uphams' Corner community gathered for a candlelight procession to honor the memory of Charleston Sarjeant, who was murdered in the Tasty Chicken restaurant. About 300 community members, including residents, merchants, and community leaders proceeded by candlelight through the streets of Uphams' Corner bringing a message of peace and harmony to families community-wide.

The following rap was composed and read to the marchers by Ms Ephiteo Evans, 19 years old, from the steps of the Bird Street Youth Center.

There are blacks and Hispanics,
who are doctors, lawyers, physicians and musicians,
bank owners, money lenders, charity givers, blood donors,
and of course there is much more.

All of our fathers are not drunks.
All of our mothers are not whores.
All of our sisters are not pregnant.
All of our brothers are not in jail.

All Hispanics do not rob.
All blacks do not steal.
All black and Hispanic teens are not rowdy.
Some of us just like to chill.
And if I didn't mention,
all blacks and Hispanics do not kill.

There's good and bad in almost everything.
We all know that's a fact.
So when you hear of something evil,
don't assume it's always black.

It's always been said that black is bad,
and that's not even right,
what's bad is crack,
and the color of crack is white.
So when you hear of all this silly stuff,
better known as stereotypes,
keep this poem in mind and don't believe the hype.

@ Ephiteo Evans
All rights reserved.
Permission granted by the author for use in this thesis

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alpert, Mark. 1991. "The Ghetto's Hidden Wealth". Fortune.
- Auster, Lucy. Dec. 1991. "Commercial Revitalization: A Strategy for Community Economic Development" Cambridge, MA: Unpublished paper for the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Barringer, Margaret and Peter J. Roche. Spring 1987. "Neighborhood Commercial Revitalization: Changing Markets Prompt New Strategies" Economic Development Commentary. Washington DC: National Council for Urban Economic Development.
- Bendick, Marc Jr. and Mary Lou Egan. 1991. "Business Development in the Inner-City: Enterprise With Community Links" New York, New York: Paper prepared for the Community Development Research Center of the New School for Social Research.
- Bickerdike Redevelopment Corporation. 1992. "Mercado Public Marketplace" Chicago: Promotional Materials for Bickerdike Redevelopment Corporation.
- Blakely, Edward J. 1989. Planning Local Economic Development. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Chapnick, Lisa G. 1991. "Why Enterprising Neighborhoods?" Boston, MA: Unpublished memo for the Public Facilities Department of the City of Boston.
- Chen, Gavin M. and John A. Cole. Spring 1988. "The Myths, Facts, and Theories of Ethnic, Small-Scale Enterprise Financing". Review of Black Political Economy. Volume 16, Number 4.
- CUED. Neighborhood Commercial Revitalization. February 1983. Washington, DC: National Council for Urban Economic Development.
- Freedgood, Julia. May 1988. "Exchanging Gossip and Grain: Public Markets and Their Role in Community Development". Medford, MA: Unpublished Masters' Degree Thesis for Tufts University.
- Gelbspan, Ross and Peter J. Howe. July 22, 1990. "Neighborhood on the Brink: Uphams' Corner in Turmoil" The Boston Globe. Boston, MA.

- Hemp, Paul. August 25, 1991. "Roxbury: Why retailers shun Boston's minority neighborhoods". The Boston Globe. Boston, MA.
- Knowles, David. March 1991. "Proposed Second Phase Uphams' Corner Commercial Revitalization Project". Unpublished letter to Ed Lee, Director of the Enterprising Neighborhoods Program, Public Facilities Department of the City of Boston. Boston, MA.
- Green, Claudia and Steve Hulett. 1991. "Revitalizing Neighborhood Commercial Centers: A Report on the Upham's Corner Business District". Boston, MA: Report prepared by City of Boston Public Facilities Department Neighborhood Enterprise Division.
- Levine, Melvine F. and Associates, Inc. 1991. "Opportunities for Retail Stores in Boston's Neighborhoods". Boston, MA: Report prepared for the Boston Redevelopment Authority.
- Levitt, Peggy. 1991. "A Todos Le Llamo Primo (I Call Everyone "Cousin"): The Social Basis for Ethnic Business". Cambridge, MA. Unpublished paper.
- Light, Ivan. 1985. "Immigrant And Ethnic Enterprise in North America". Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in American Life. Edited by Norman Yetman. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Light, Ivan and Edna Bonacich. 1988. Immigrant Entrepreneurs. University of California Press.
- Mt. Auburn Associates. March 1992. "Revitalization Strategy for Uphams' Corner Commercial District". Boston, MA: Report prepared for the City of Boston Public Facilities Department.
- National Trust for Historic Preservation. "Bringing Back Urban Vitality". 1990. Washington D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation.
- Pedraza-Bailey, Silvia and Roger Waldinger. 1991. "Ethnic Enterprise: Self Employment Among Hispanic and Asian Immigrants in Chicago". Research proposal to the National Science Foundation.
- Perez, Ana Maria, and Russell Paul Lopez. 1982. "Hispanic Businesses: The Dudley Neighborhood". Boston, MA: Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation, Inc.

- Piore, Michael J. 1986. "The Changing Role of Small Business in the U.S. Economy". Paper prepared for the project on the "New Industrial Organization" of the Institute of Labour Studies of the International Labour Organization.
- Rezendez, Michael. April 14, 1992. "The Changing Face of the City: Immigrants Give Diversity , Display New Hope", The Boston Globe. Boston, MA.
- Stevenson, Kim. 1991. "Hispanic and Minority Owned Businesses in Lawrence: A Market Study of Essex Street and Downtown Lawrence, MA". Lawrence, MA: Report prepared for the Lawrence Community Development Department.
- Telesis , Inc. 1981. "Strategy Guidlines for the Commercial Revitalization of Upham's Corner". 1981. Boston, MA: Report submitted to the Dorchester Bay E c o n o m i c Development Corporation.
- Turque, William, Debra Rosenberg, and Todd Barrett. February 24, 1992. "Where the Food Isn't". New York, NY. Newsweek.
- Uphams' Corner Neighborhood Housing Services. 1985. "Uphams Corner Impact Committee Report". Boston, MA: Unpublished report.
- Waldinger, Roger, Howard Aldrich, Robin Ward and Associates. 1990. Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Immigrant Business in Industrial Societies. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Wiewil, Wim and Robert Meir. 1981. Analysing Neighborhood Retail Opportunities: A Guide to Carrying Out a Preliminary Market Study. Washington, DC: American Planning Association.
- Wilson, Kenneth L. and Alejandro Portes. 1985. "Immigrant Enclaves: An Analyis of the Labor Market Experiences of Cubans in Miami". Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in American Life. Edited by Norman Yetman. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Yin, Robert K. 1987. Case Study Research: Design and Methods. CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Young, Philip K. and Ann H. L. Sontz. Spring 1988. "Is Hard Work the Key to Success? A Socioeconomic Analysis of Immigrant Enterprise". Review of Black Political Economy. Volume 16, Number 4.

APPENDIX A
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Staff of Agencies and Institutions Working in Uphams' Corner

10-22-91 Kevin Winn
Community Relations Office
Shawmut Bank

10-22-91 Mary Gunn
Executive Director
Bird Street Youth Center

10-22-91 Ed Grimes
Executive Director
Uphams' Corner Health Center
and President Uphams' Corner Board of Trade

10-22-91 Geri Guardino
Executive Director
Strand Theatre
and Secretary Uphams' Corner Board of Trade

ongoing David Knowles
Executive Director
Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation

ongoing Robert Haas
Planning Director
Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation

Staff of Public Facilities Department of the City of Boston

ongoing Carlos Arcos
Neighborhood Business Manager for Uphams' Corner
Neighborhood Enterprise Division

1-21-91 Luis Soto
Deputy Director
Neighborhood Enterprise Division

Neighborhood Resident Associations

12-2-91 Columbia-Savin Hill Civic Association

12-2-91 Jones Hill Association

Merchants of Uphams' Corner

1-29-92	Mark J. Salzberg L & M Bargain Store
1-29-92	Jerold N. Katz Righters' True Value Hardware Store
1-29-92	Constantino Mavrides Columbia Deli
1-29-92	Yolanda Cummings
2-7-92	Jeanette Londono Optometrist and Vice President Uphams' Corner Board of Trade
2-7-92	Ana Celeste Roa Celeste's Boutique
2-7-92	Lissie Consuelo's Beauty Salon
2-7-92	Farid Ketton Choice Furniture

Professionals and Others With Expertise in the Areas of
Commercial Revitalization, Community Economic Development,
or Ethnic Enterprise Development

10-4-91	Melvyn Colon Former Executive Director Nuestra Comunidad
10-31-91	Peggy Levitt PHD Candidate Massachusetts Institute of Technology Department of Urban Studies and Planning
10-22-91	Margaret Barringer Associate Director of Community Economic Development Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation
ongoing	Andrew Reamer Principal Mt. Auburn Associates
12-3-91	Phil Clay Associate Professor Massachusetts Institute of Technology Department of Urban Studies and Planning
12-4-91	Phil Herr Adjunct Professor Massachusetts Institute of Technology Department of Urban Studies and Planning
4-17-92	Robert Brandwein President Policy Management Associates, Inc.
4-23-92	Jim Robinson President Gideon Group

APPENDIX B

UPHAMS' CORNER BUSINESSES

Mt. Auburn Associates. March 1992. "Revitalization Strategy for Uphams' Corner Commercial District". Boston, MA: Report prepared for the Neighborhood Enterprise Division, Public Facilities Department, City of Boston.

UPHAM'S CORNER BUSINESSES
2/5/92

Store type/name (in order)	Address	Owner/manager
<hr/>		
SPANISH SPEAKING		
1. Boston Plastic Cover	722 Dudley	Jose Tavaréz
2. Fontes Boutique	725 Dudley	Lim Fontes
3. Mini Fashion	725B Dudley	Jose Pagan
4. Celeste Boutique	724 Dudley	Maria ?
5. Hermanos Unidos	728 Dudley	Angel Martinez
6. El Frutero	731 Dudley	?
7. Isla De Oro	734 Dudley	Juan Santiago
8. Ralph's Liquors	735 Dudley	Ralph Gonzales
9. Jerusalem Int'l Trading Co.	756 & 765 Dudley	Beshori Handi
10. Choice Furniture	760 & 776 Dudley	?
11. George's Discount	770 Dudley	George Yousif
12. Casa Noel	773 Dudley	Alfredo de Jesus
13. Las Americas Plaza	780 Dudley	Peter Cuenca
14. M & R Wholesale	580 Columbia	Mario Reyes
15. Santa Domingo Restaurant	14 Hancock	?
16. Las Americas Barber Shop	16 Hancock	?

CLOTHING/SHOES:

1. Celeste Boutique	724 Dudley	Maria ?
2. Mini Fashion	725B Dudley	Jose Pagan
3. Fontes Boutique	725 Dudley	Lim Fontes
4. Dudley Boutique	738 Dudley	?
5. Young's Boutique	744 Dudley	Mr. Park
6. L+M Bargain Stores	745 Dudley	Mark Salzberg
7. Cummings	774 Dudley	Ms. Raphael
8. Louis Shoes	775 Dudley	Michael Brandon
9. Louis Clothing	779 Dudley	Michael Brandon
10. George's Shoe Repair	777 Dudley	?
11. Payless Shoe Source	786 Dudley	Tony ?
12. M & R Wholesale	580 Columbia	Mario Reyes

RESTAURANTS:

1. Upham's House of Pizza	566 Columbia	Constantino Mavridis
2. Columbia Deli	554 Columbia	Constantino Mavridas
3. Pizza place (inside Las Americas Plaza)	780 Dudley	Peter Cuenca ?
4. Tasty Chicken Seafood/Sub	531 Columbia	?
5. Isla De Oro	734 Dudley	Juan Santiago
6. Santa Domingo Restaurant	14 Hancock	?
7. Dublin House	7 Stoughton	Yaser
8. Canton House	6 Hancock	Pang Fu Yong
9. Cataloni's Pizza	10 Hancock	Ernest Cataloni

CONVENIENT GROCERY STORES:

1. Christy's	541 Columbia	Peter Matheson
2. Hermanos Unidos	728 Dudley	Angel Martinez
3. El Frutero	731 Dudley	?
4. Las Americas Plaza	780 Dudley	Peter Cuenca
5. Kim's Market	564 Columbia	Wan Hae Kim
6. Fresh Fish Market	566 Columbia	Moon K. Chang
7. Daily Fish	521 Columbia	Hyo Kang
8. Hillside Spa	26 Hancock	?
9. Ralph's Liquors	735 Dudley	Ralph Gonzales

FURNITURE STORES:

1. Jerusalem Int'l Trading Co.	756 & 765 Dudley	Beshori Handi
2. Choice Furniture	760 & 776 Dudley	?
3. George's Discount	770 Dudley	George Yousif
4. Boston Plastic Cover	722 Dudley	Jose Tavarez
5. J. Bell & Son Furniture	28 Hancock	Aaron Bell

SECOND STORY OFFICES:

1. 598 COLUMBIA: PIERCE BLDG
Rosado
Christopher Elliott
GNAT Productions
McLandish/Soares
Wondolowski
Mariton
Barrows
Tracy/Morehouse
Dorch. Bay EDC
David Knowles
2. 778 DUDLEY
La Semana, TV19 Cuenca Vision
3. HART BLDG (corner of Columbia & Dudley)
Auto School
Dance School
4. 556 COLUMBIA
(appears to be empty, but explore whether there are
any tenants. If so, try to speak with them.)

LAUNDROMATS/CLEANERS

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|----------|
| 1. Carlton's Cleaners | 737 Columbia | ? |
| 2. Dependable Cleaners | 600 Columbia | ? |
| 3. Bak Chin Laundry &
Dry Cleaners | 6A Hancock | Bak Chin |

MOVIE RENTALS

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Galaxie Movie Rentals | 523 Columbia | Julio Martinez |
| 2. Cablevision | 525A Columbia | ? |
| 3. Top Shop Video | 727 Dudley | Thomas Tiles |

HAIR DRESSERS

1. Jackson's Hair Salon	733 Dudley	J.E. Jackson
2. Consuelo's Beauty Salon	767 Dudley	Alma
3. Pisces Hair Place	535 Columbia	Patricia Keyes
4. Spectrum Hair Performance	620 Columbia	?
5. Las Americas Barber Shop	16 Hancock	?

MISC:

1. Strand Pharmacy	533 Columbia	Earl Oran
2. Tempesta Brothers Heating Oil	20 Hancock	James Tempesta
3. Embassy Real Estate	693 Columbia	?
4. H & R Block	562 Columbia	?
5. Bairo's Agency	4 Hancock	Bairos ?
6. Pacific Insurance Agency	578 Columbia	Linda Webster
7. Casa Noel	773 Dudley	Alfredo de Jesus

AUTO/HARDWARE

Atco Supply Co., Inc.	617 Columbia	John Campedelli
Glass Medic Co.	619 Columbia	?
U-Save Auto Rental	619 Columbia	?
Carquest Auto Parts	9 Hancock	Jeff/Jim Levine?
Inner City Glass Co.	14 Hancock	David Silverman
Righter's True Value Hardware	748 Dudley	Jerold Katz

PROFESSIONALS

Uphams Corner Vision optometrist dentist	618 Columbia	?
--	--------------	---

BANKS:

Shawmut	585 Columbia	Kevin Winn
Boston Five	575 Columbia	Carolina Correia
Bank of Boston	555 Columbia	Louise Quish

APPENDIX C

SELECTED RESULTS OF UPHAMS' CORNER SHOPPERS SURVEY

Mt. Auburn Associates. March 1992. "Revitalization Strategy for Uphams' Corner Commercial District". Boston, MA: Report prepared for the Neighborhood Enterprise Division, Public Facilities Department, City of Boston.

PERCEPTIONS ABOUT UPHAMS CORNER

	Excellent	Good	Neutral	Fair	Poor	No Opinion	Total
Accessibility	8.6%	40.0%	14.3%	20.0%	10.5%	6.7%	100.0%
Attractiveness	1.0%	11.8%	21.6%	32.4%	29.4%	3.9%	100.0%
Cleanliness	0.0%	11.5%	17.3%	33.7%	34.6%	2.9%	100.0%
Parking	0.9%	9.3%	11.1%	25.9%	48.1%	4.6%	100.0%
Prices	1.0%	25.5%	13.7%	32.4%	19.6%	7.8%	100.0%
Quality	1.0%	23.8%	15.2%	38.1%	15.2%	6.7%	100.0%
Safety	2.9%	8.7%	16.5%	26.2%	40.8%	4.9%	100.0%
Shopping Hours	1.9%	25.0%	16.3%	27.9%	19.2%	9.6%	100.0%
Special Events	2.9%	13.5%	9.6%	24.0%	31.7%	18.3%	100.0%
Variety	2.9%	12.5%	16.3%	20.2%	30.8%	17.3%	100.0%

TYPES OF
IMPROVEMENTS SHOPPERS WOULD LIKE TO SEE
IN UPHAMS CORNER

More Police/Safety Improvements	26%
Cleaning/beautification	11.1%
More Parking	9.2%
Movies/entertainment	8.3%
Youth Programs/activites	7.4%
Better variety of stores	4.6%
Better quality	4.6%
Longer hours	4.6%

TYPES OF
NEW STORES SHOPPERS WOULD LIKE TO SEE
IN UPHAMS CORNER

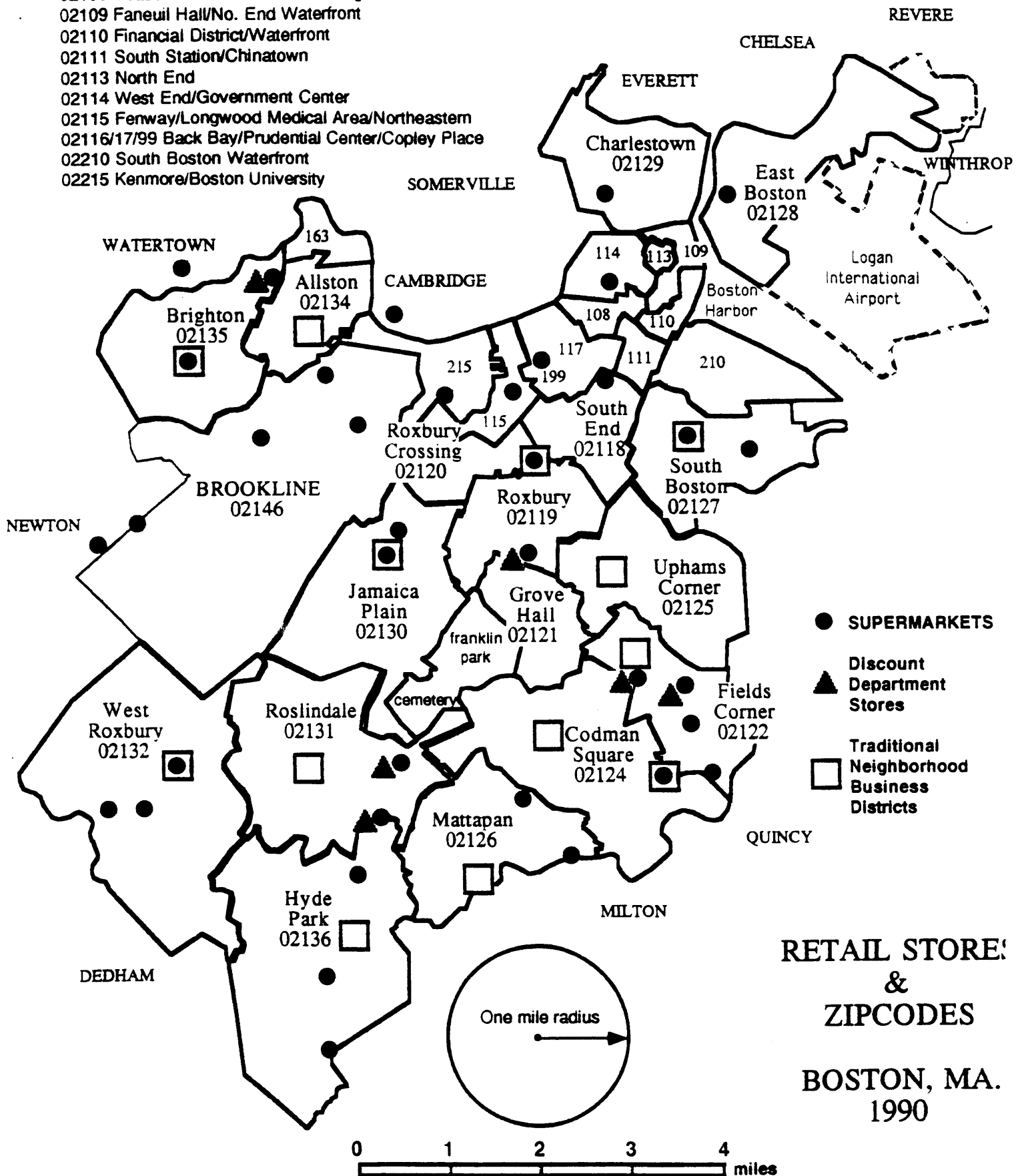
Clothing	24.0%
Grocery Store	19.4%
Fast Food	14.8%
Shoes	12.0%
Drug Store	8.3%
Variety Stores	8.3%
Record Store	6.5%
Movie	3.7%

APPENDIX D

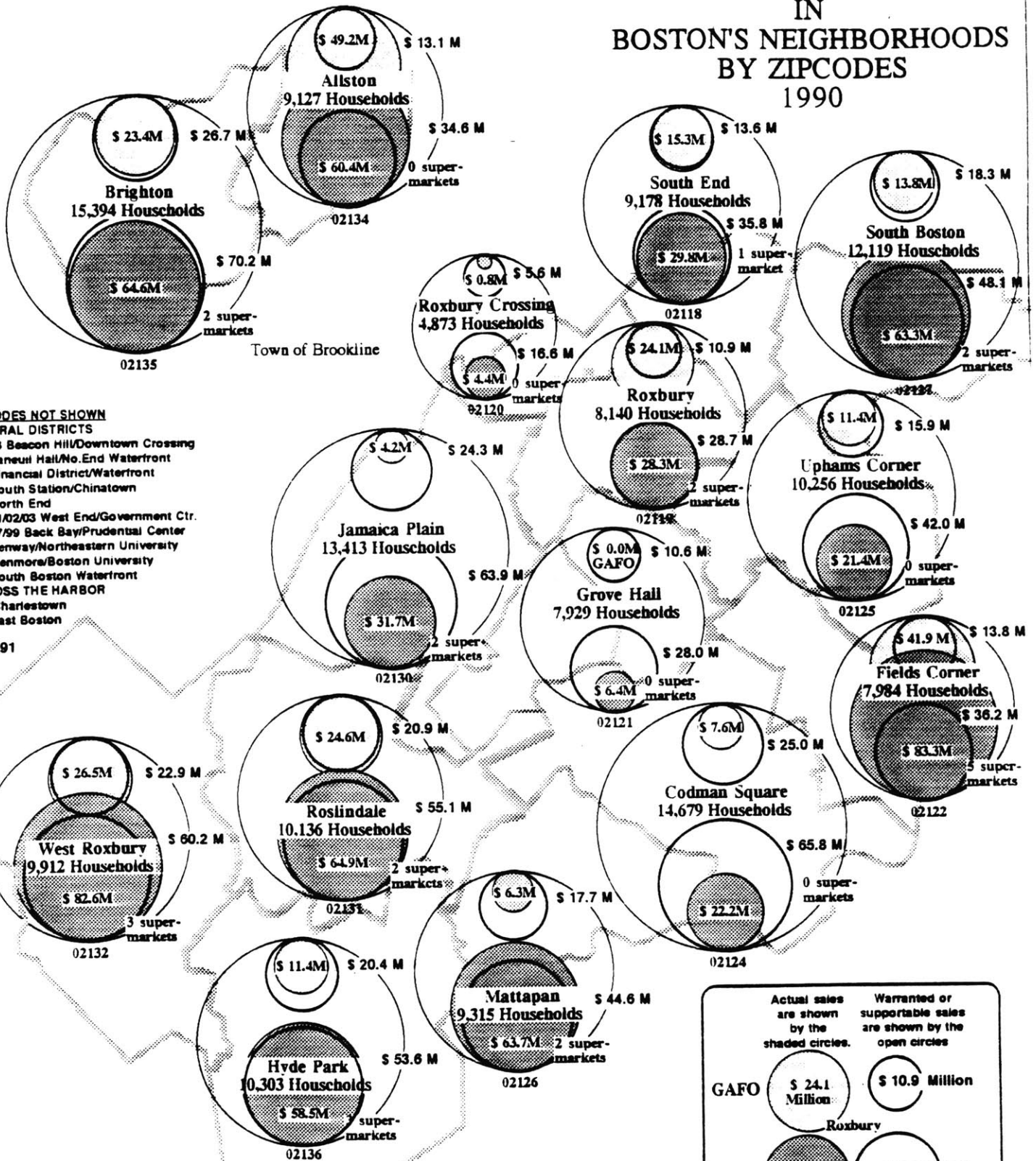
OPPORTUNITIES FOR RETAIL STORES IN UPHAMS' CORNER

Melvine F. Levine Associates, Inc. 1991. "Opportunities for Retail Stores in Boston's Neighborhoods". Boston, MA: Report prepared for the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

02108 Beacon Hill/Downtown Crossing
02109 Faneuil Hall/No. End Waterfront
02110 Financial District/Waterfront
02111 South Station/Chinatown
02113 North End
02114 West End/Government Center
02115 Fenway/Longwood Medical Area/Northeastern
02116/17/99 Back Bay/Prudential Center/Copley Place
02210 South Boston Waterfront
02215 Kenmore/Boston University



RETAIL SALES IN BOSTON'S NEIGHBORHOODS BY ZIPCODES 1990

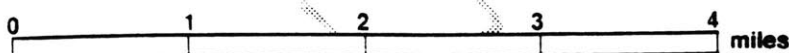


ZIPCODES NOT SHOWN

CENTRAL DISTRICTS

108/33 Beacon Hill/Downtown Crossing
109 Faneuil Hall/No. End Waterfront
110 Financial District/Waterfront
111 South Station/Chinatown
113 North End
114/01/02/03 West End/Government Ctr.
116/17/99 Back Bay/Prudential Center
115 Fenway/Northeastern University
215 Kenmore/Boston University
210 South Boston Waterfront
ACROSS THE HARBOR
128 Charlestown
129 East Boston

122491



MELVIN F. LEVINE & ASSOCIATES, INC. - 1 CHISWICK TERRACE, BRIGHTON, MA 02135

Actual sales
are shown
by the
shaded circles.
Warranted or
supportable sales
are shown by the
open circles



GAFO=General merchandise, Apparel, Furniture, and Other shopping goods stores.
FED = Food stores, Eating & drinking places, and Drugstores

UPHAMS CORNER: ZIPCODE 02125 -- 1990					
KINDS OF STORES	Warranted	Actual	Warranted	Average	Additional
Shopping Goods Stores	Sales	Sales	less actual	Sales/Store	Stores
Department/Discount	2,718,000	0	2,718,000	6,326,000	0.4
Other General Merchandise	1,876,000	790,000	1,086,000	1,751,000	0.6
Apparel	3,407,000	3,378,000	29,000	600,000	0.0
Furniture	4,427,000	2,806,000	1,621,000	895,000	1.8
Other Shopping Goods	2,146,000	4,352,000	-2,206,000	1,257,000	0.0
Subtotal Shopping Goods (GAFO)	14,574,000	11,326,000	3,248,000	na	na
Food & convenience stores					
Supermarket	12,157,000	0	12,157,000	8,270,000	1.5
Other Food	14,144,000	9,316,000	4,828,000	1,192,000	4.1
Eating & drinking places	10,411,000	6,100,000	4,311,000	410,000	10.5
Drug	5,269,000	5,938,000	-669,000	1,163,000	0.0
Subtotal Convenience (FED)	41,981,000	21,354,000	20,627,000	na	na
NOTES					
"Warranted sales" are the amounts that residents have available to spend in their home districts in the kinds of stores listed in the left hand column.					
"Actual sales" are as reported by the U.S.Census for the kinds of stores listed in the left hand column in 1990.					
"Warranted less actual" are the amounts that are spent by residents outside their home districts in the kinds of stores listed in the left hand column.					
"Average Sales/Store" per year are as reported by the U.S.Census for the kinds of stores listed in the left hand column in 1990.					
"Additional stores" -- if 1.0 or higher -- indicate possible opportunities for one or more average-size new stores in the store groups listed in the left hand column.					
* See "CONCLUSIONS" on page 5.					
MELVIN F. LEVINE & ASSOCIATES, INC.					
					120491